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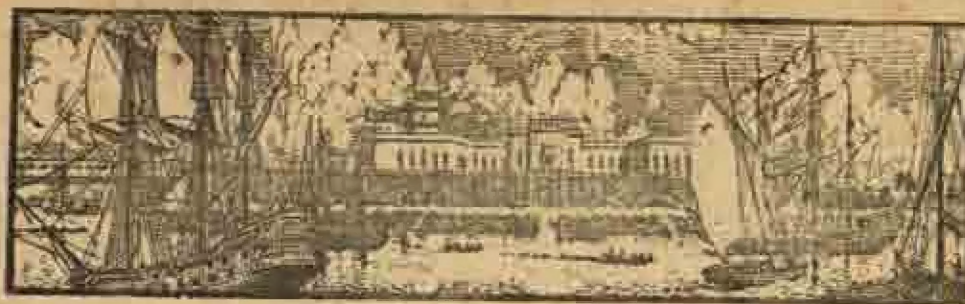
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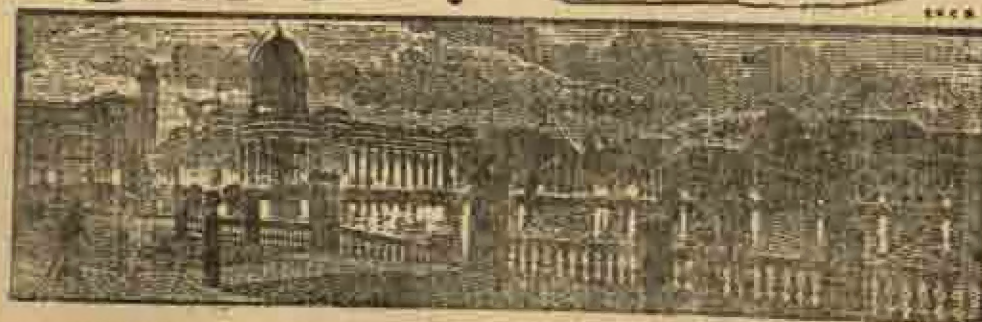
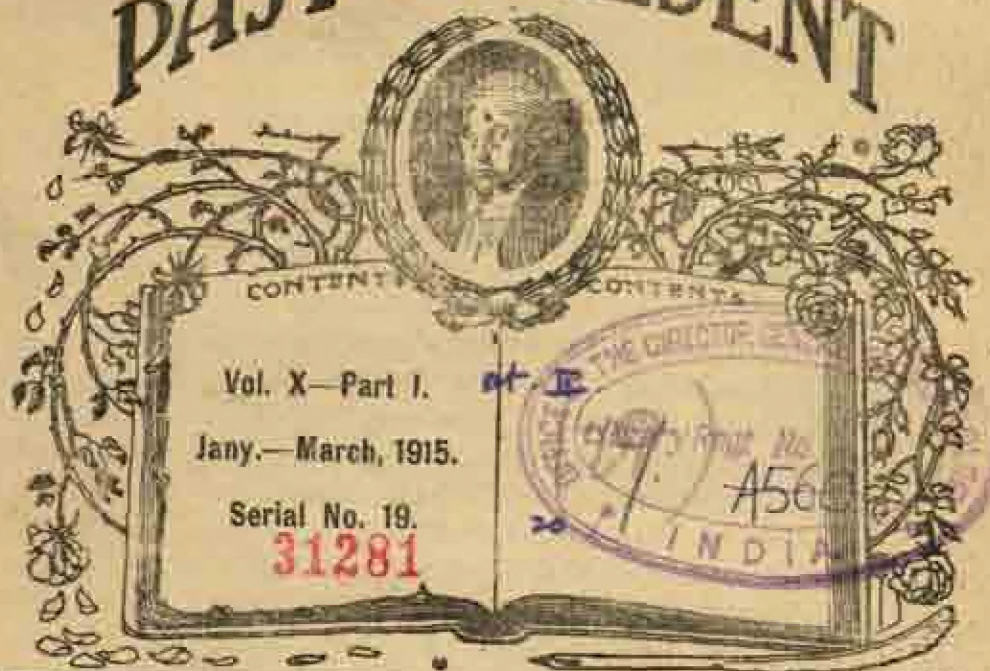




BENGAL PAST & PRESENT

954.1405

B. P. P.



JOURNAL OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Price Rs. 5/- a copy.

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The Letters of Mr. Richard Barwell—IV.

LETTER No. LXXIX.

CALCUTTA,

The 21st September, 1767.

TO MR. HENRY TOPHAM.

Dear Topham,—

YOUR letter of the 26th December, 1766, was delivered me by Mr. Yard. A soldier you will say should be a man of inches. If you will permit me then to judge by his person that doubtless his name in length and a nose the admiration of the ladies. He is certainly the thing. The very thing, I in consequence must flatter both you and myself that his talents will not be buried, but that he will exercise those excellent natural parts he is master of, and by fighting, and fighting, raise himself to the pinnacle of Asian glory. You know the task is not so very deficle. However I wish he had been dipped in the Shannon to have insured his wished success.

The *Lord Holland*, by which ship this is conveyed, is a silent testimony of your ungraciousness. You will write—to be sure a pretty fellow—but hush the *Peacock* and another ship is yet to come. It is possible then you may not prove so ungracious as I imagine. Therefore patience and charity. For I perceive you are not here and that it is I must plead your cause consequently. I have no right to judge, far less to condemn upon my own evidence. Observe what an old fashioned prejudiced fellow I am who can run thus counter to the principles of the times and not think myself authorised to be both judge and jury upon my own cause.

If Mr. Tinker has not had the precaution to send out proper instructions and with these such orders from the Directors as are necessary, you may depend on it the payment of your donation will be evaded: this though a bold defiance of the public Act which renders the donation stipulated the real property of the Navy, you will find is glossed over. My hearty wishes attend you forgetting your patron and my friend Mr. Tinker, nor the worthy and esteemed F. Afflick, Esq.

I am, etc.



BENGAL: PAST & PRESENT.

LETTER No. LXXX.

CALCUTTA,

The 21st September, 1767.

TO HIS MOTHER.

Honored and Dear Madam,—

Accompanying your very kind epistle of the 10th, I received a most obliging consideration from my dear Sister, and to which the enclosed is in reply. I need not assure you my greatest wish is to resign in the affections of my parents and dearest relations, and that my next ambition is the love of the circle of my acquaintance. Happy then is the intimation you are pleased to give, I will still make it a part of the business of my life to be well in the opinion of the world, and attempt to raise myself to the epithet your fondness has bestowed—that of the deserving son.

My brother, James, of whom I have received the articles mentioned in your letter I have the pleasure to acquaint you is in health. His ship being ordered to Vizagapatam with troops, he is now absent, but will shortly return, when he shall be charged with the things you have commissioned. My Father's ill state of health, joined to my own, renders my uneasiness very great and makes me wish my little fortune was such as to enable me to visit England, and to pursue such a plan of life when there as might prove be financial to those whose interests and views I most ardently desire to promote. This at present being denied me, I must wait from the hand of time the power necessary for the execution of what my heart is set on.

I have sent by Mr. Carr, Chief Mate of the *Lord Holland*, one-half piece of flowered muslin in lieu of the muslin lace given away as mentioned to my Sister. Health and happiness for you and your's is the prayer my filial love profers to heaven.

I have, etc.

LETTER No. LXXXI.

CALCUTTA,

The 20th September, 1767.

Dear Hardwicke,—

I am obliged by yours of the 15th November last. I flatter myself you are convinced I wish to deserve your esteem, but, as things are situated at present, it is not in my power by any real service to Mr. Chaundler to express my attachment to you. When it is, you may depend on my regard to his interests. With respect to that part of your letter that mentions

Mr. Chaundler is to succeed to the post of Surgeon at this Presidency on the first vacancy that shall happen, I can only observe upon it that there must be some mistake or that Mr. Ch——r has been most egregiously imposed on; for, agreeably to the rules of succession laid down and hitherto respected, he is at least third or fourth removed from the immediate succession. However, as he is much esteemed, he will in all probability be sooner and better provided for than this appointment from Europe may give him reason to expect. Let us then who are his friends hope for the best.

I return you thanks for your directions to Mr. Miller, and will avail myself of them when your money is disengaged. I wrote you last season about the 20,000 and I believe enclosed in my letter the address relative to his Lordship. I have at present neither post, place, nor pension, what I am to have the Lord knows, and He knows likewise I have been strangely bamboozled. I was called down from Malda and appointed in Select Committee of the 7th January last to the Chiefship of Dacca. Assured of that by Mr. Verelst, I never thought of applying for the following appointments, made the 20th of the same month (January), to either of which I had an undoubted right from my rank in the Service, superior to any of the gentlemen that now hold them, *viz.* Harris 2nd of Dacca, Graham Resident at Burdwan, George Vansittart, Resident of Midnapore. After these appointments had taken place, I then first understood and began to perceive the precariousness of my Dacca appointment. It had not been minuted on Consultation. Mr. V[erelst] began to alledge many reasons to me and without explaining those reasons deferred bringing the matter before the Board. I urged it in pretty strong terms. On the dispatch of the *Nottingham* was again put off, but determined not to be so at the dispatch of the *Mercury*. I delivered in a letter to the Board with thanks to the Directors of their recommendation of me to the Gentlemen of the Council here, and represented that I had then been some time in Calcutta, that many appointments had taken place, and that I was as yet to be considered. Before I delivered in this letter I wrote to Mr. V[erelst] urging the Dacca appointment on the merits of the Directors' recommendations. Instead of his bringing it on in the manner I requested he left it to Mr. Russell to make the motion for filling up the vacancy at Dacca; and then, without so much as taking any notice of me or the Directors' recommendation or my appointment in Committee to the Chiefship, it was offered to and accepted by Mr. Kelsall. Thus ended a farce which has given me as favorable an idea of hypocrisy and court favor as you can conceive to be formed on experience. All I am displeased with myself for is that I should address his Lordship and Carnar, and thank them as heartily as if the favor I had been given to understand they had conferred upon me had been real. A further anecdote is that

on his Lordship's departure I was informed Kelsall brought up from the ship a letter for his nomination. This I candidly mentioned to Mr. V[erelst], and he in reply said it was a mere rumour, and that I might rest easy and depend on his word given me.

As I do not believe I have been particular enough in my letters to Beaumont you will shew him this account of my disappointment.

I heartily wish to join you in the land of liberty. Till then I must send you a yearly remembrancer, being ever, etc.

LETTER No. LXXXII.

CALCUTTA,

The 28th September, 1767.

TO MR. ROBERT CARR.

Dear Sir,—

I have made a purchase of some handkerchiefs agreeably to your request, but have it not in my power to procure any more at the same rate. Muslins are most extravagantly dear, consequently will not answer. I wish I could have my bill, that I might inspect and pay it. You are a sad lazy chap, and the people you have left here worse than yourself, for they have not as yet finished your accounts and delivered over what they should have delivered of your unsold things to Mr. Blair. As you get no bills I desire you will be so particular in your instructions about the money that you must inevitably leave in India. I heartily wish you success and am etc.

[Here follows an invoice.]

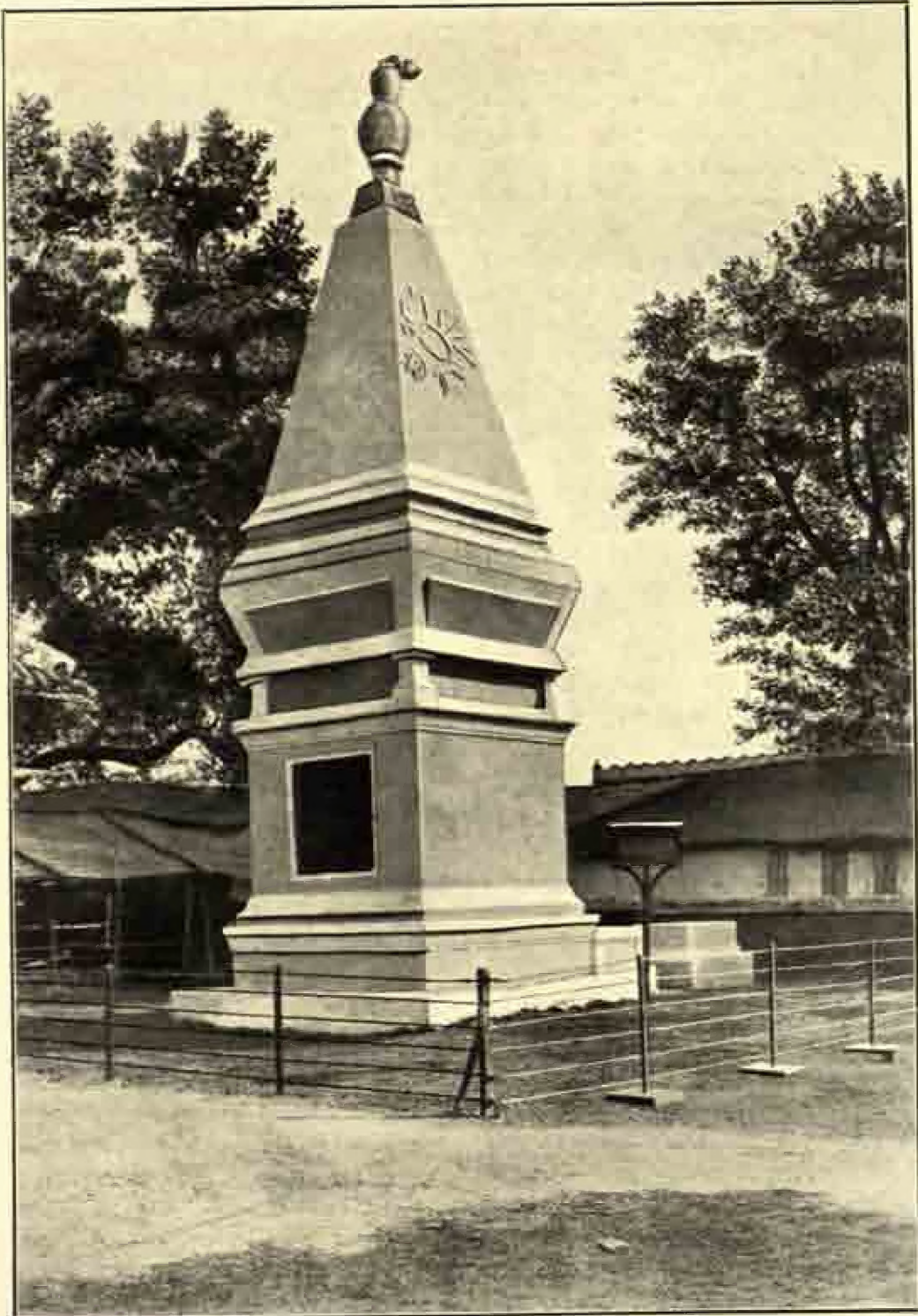
LETTER No. LXXXIII.

CALCUTTA,

The 30th September, 1767.

My Lord,—

When I addressed you the 13th January, my thanks spoke my gratitude for the favor I at that juncture conceived to have been conferred upon me. What reasons may have occurred since your departure and turned from me that so recent acknowledged obligation I am at a loss to imagine. It is possible, however, that your Lordship may be apprised of circumstances to which I am an utter stranger, and my ignorance of which serves best to render the treatment I have experienced the more mysterious and extraordinary, and consequently to me the more aggravating.



TOMB OF MAJOR RANFURLIE KNOX AT BANKIPUR.

(See Bengal Past and Present Vol. IX. P. 35.)

Photograph by Walter K. Firminger.

Mortified and disappointed as I am I appeal to your generosity to judge my conduct. I think it has in respect erred. I think I am not partial, and I think I have scrutinised it with some degree of severity. If then to you it shall appear in the same light, I flatter myself I may merit your Lordship's consideration in the Regulations you shall think necessary to recommend for the benefit of the India Company and in this hope I subscribe myself, etc.

Copy of a letter dated the 13th January, 1767.

FROM MAULDA.

My Lord,—

I am this instant most agreeably surprised with intimation of your having appointed me to the Chiefship of Dacca vacant by Mr. Cartier's repairing to the Presidency to assist in the administration of Publick affairs. My immediate and earliest acknowledgements for so distinguishing a mark of your favor though the least I can, is all I have to offer. For the conference of this great obligation accept them, then, my Lord, as a small testimony of that gratitude, under a sense of which I must ever subscribe myself.

LETTER No. LXXXIV.

CALCUTTA,

The 30th September, 1767.

TO MESSRS. STOKESHAM DONSTAN AND EDWARD COLES,

[Of no interest.]

LETTER No. LXXXV.

CALCUTTA,

The 24th October, 1767.

TO THOMAS RUMBOLD, ESQ., AT PATNA.

Dear Rumbold,—

The inclination you expressed to render my friend Beaumont a service, when I acquainted you of his having a parcel of marble slabs laying undisposed of at Mootajell, has induced me to direct Contoo* to send up to you a few of those slabs, and which I flatter myself have been long since

* Kristo Kanto Nandl, better known as "Kantoo Babu," founder of the Kasimbazar Raj Family of Murshidabad.

received. I am uncertain whether I have, or have not, addressed you before on this subject, but lest I should not, I forward the account of the dispositions made by Contoo with an English explanation of each article. I will not urge the exertion of your influence in behalf of Beaumont further than I am convinced your generosity and friendly disposition will dictate to you to bestow on one so worthy of your esteem. I shall be happy if you can put it in my power to acquaint him of the sale of his marble by this year's shipping even at the invoice price or a little lower.

I am etc.,

N.B.—This letter and [the following letter with the invoice and accounts of the marble slabs to be enclosed in a letter to Mr. Beaumont by the November ships.

LETTER No. LXXXVI.

CALCUTTA,

The 24th October, 1767.

TO FRANCIS SYKES, ESQ.

Mootajell.

Sir,—

I should be obliged to you for the account sales if any of those marble slabs of Mr. Beaumont's (given you by Mr. Watts) have been disposed off. As that article has proved extremely heavy to Mr. Beaumont, you may be assured he will esteem himself the more indebted to your kindness when it is sold.

I am, etc.

[Here follows invoice of 282 marble slabs laden on 19 boats and sent to Mootajil on account and risk of Anselm Beaumont.]

LETTER No. LXXXVII.

CALCUTTA,

The 10th November, 1767.

TO MESSRS. STOKESHAM DONSTAN AND EDWARD COLES, AT FORT MARLBRO.

[Of no interest.]

LETTER No. LXXXVIII.

CALCUTTA,

The 10th November, 1767.

TO MESSRS. GATWARD AND PATCH, AT FORT MARLBRO.

[Of no interest.]

LETTER No. LXXXIX.

CALCUTTA,

The 30th November, 1767.

TO WILLIAM BARWELL AND ANSELM BARWELL, ESQ.

[Of no interest.]

LETTER No. XC.

CALCUTTA,

November, 1767.

TO ANSELM BEAUMONT AND RALPH LEYCESTER, ESQS.

[Of no interest.]

LETTER No. XCI.

CALCUTTA,

The 30th November, 1767.

TO JOSIAS DUPREE, ESQ.

Sir,—

As a Director I return you my thanks for the favor done me in your late General Letters to this Presidency, yet I must acknowledge I should have esteemed myself under a greater obligation if, instead of recommending me for promotion, that promotion had been conferred by the power that had the right to dictate it.

Let me hope you will so far oblige me in future as to favor me with your influence, and you may depend my gratitude shall acknowledge the debt I may lay under to your friendly consideration. The letters I take the liberty to enclose for your perusal will sufficiently explain the cause that has produced them. I am sorry that has occurred, for however severity may for a time suppress discontent it cannot ever eradicate it.

If it is agreeable to you to indulge me with your correspondence, I shall attempt to convince you further how much I am your obedient and humble servant, etc.

LETTER No. XCII.

CALCUTTA,

The 30th November, 1767.

Dear Beaumont,—

The two enclosed letters to which I have not as yet been favored with an answer I send for your perusal. Negligence is what I should be sorry to be taxed with; and, as your marble still lays on hand, I thought it necessary to exculpate myself with you.

The French bills are now at such a rate that I really think you would be wrong to accept them if they were to be procured, but I am too small a man I fear to have influence enough to procure any, though my endeavors have not nor shall be wanting to that end.

You will perceive I have been so lucky as to get a remittance made by the way of Bencoolen. This remittance, I must honestly confess, I did intend to have transferred to your account but the improbability of being able to procure any English bills the approaching year, and the necessity I am under of sending home about £6,500, has induced me to keep that remittance to myself. I hope you will not think it unkind or selfish. You yourself are a judge of the difficulty I labored under last year, and what I then adventured to effect a remittance. To say more is needless. If it was my fortune I was remitting in preference to your's, it would require indeed the gloss of words to varnish over the proceeding, but as it is a debt I am obliged to pay you will let my necessity plead my excuse.

I should be much obliged if you would forward to me by every opportunity an account sales such as is enclosed not only of the Bengali but of Madras and Surat goods with the prices of drugs and how those drugs are to be chosen. Should you buy me any India stock you may dispose of the votes it will entitle me to in such a manner as you think proper. I confide in your acquaintance with men and acknowledge of my interests here being dear to you. I stand as yet recalled from Maulda, and four gentlemen from Madras an insurmountable obstacle in my way.

I wish you all happiness, and am, etc.

LETTER No. XCIII.

TO HIS FATHER.

CALCUTTA,

The 9th December, 1767.

Honored and Dear Sir,—

Since Mr. Verelst's accession to the Government the same system has been regarded which his Lordship thought proper to adopt; and, as the Directors themselves by their silence on some points and acquiescence on others have encouraged, if not entirely approved, the exertion of any arbitrary power the Governor, who so ever he may be must prove dead indeed to ambition not to seize the opportunity that is offered him to render his will and pleasure alone the principle for governing.

The means a Governor has in his power to promote the best and to effect the worst of purposes are obvious—the latter more particularly so to those to whom the dispositions and manners of the natives are known which are vilely base indeed.

The revenue of this country has been represented as the first object of attention; and as I do imagine the Company must shortly view it in that light subsequent regulations will point out, whether those now existing have been more conducive to their interests or whether their interests have been a secondary object in reality and power to the gentlemen that planned, approved and fixed the present system for collecting the revenues. The first I believe it will be deemed by every rational man a task beyond any individual, let his capacity be ever so extraordinary to attend to one-sixth part of what is the duty of your Resident at the Durbar. Can he possibly supervise or inspect so extensive a business as the collections? It is a question no one can answer in the affirmative, whilst the negative is easily deduced from facts that daily occur. Yet you find that he is the only man entrusted with that most material concern of the Company. I except the Calcutta lands with Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong. These have servants appointed over them and yet those servants are scarce sufficient to check the tricking dispositions of the zemindars to prevent the oppression of the inhabitants, and to obtain for the Company the real revenue of those countries. How this will appear contrasted with the charge that solely depends on the Governor and Resident at the Durbar you will readily conceive, and whether the publick advantage has not in a degree been sacrificed to the ambition, if not to the avarice of some individuals. The minutes of Committee on the subject of the Nabob's legacy to Lord Clive were transmitted by the *Nottingham* and *Mercury*, since which

nothing has transpired relative to the disposition of that extraordinary mark of Eastern, gratitude and munificence.

The King's present of two lacks odd thousands of rupees to General Carnac for which a bond was given him by the Committee of Trade was received by him some time before his departure for Europe. This is the present the propriety of his accepting which he made a show of submitting to the decision of the Directors. I call it a show as he put it out of their power to take it from him; for, with all his display of disinterestedness and resignation to the pleasure of his Employers and regard for their interests, the money you will find was not lodged in the Company's Treasury, but was lent on bond in his own, instead of the names of trustees (which on such occasions should have been appointed) to a society that had not the power to refuse payment whenever their bond became due. Thus, when the General left India, as I have before noticed, the money was paid to his order. The Bond to Lord Clive for a part of the Nabob's legacy (for it is a part and but a small part in proportion to the amount of that legacy) paid into the Company's Treasury may in the same manner be demanded, and must be paid. His Lordship's mode of representing that legacy to the Directors with his avowed intention of disposing of it for the benefit of the Company I now very much suspect is but with this view to get you to recognise his right, which when done, he will not scruple to convert the whole to his own use. Any frivolous pretext will serve his purpose, and on that he may, with his usual confidence, declare that the objects of his intended bounty are unworthy of such a consideration from him. Mr. Sykes purchased of Lord Clive his concern in the salt trade at 25,000£ sterling in lieu of the profit that was to arise to his Lordship by that trade. I am not certain whether this consideration was made for the profits that were to accrue to his Lordship from his share in that trade for one year or for two. I am apt to think it was but for one; however, for the sake of being pretty just in my calculation, I would count but upon that 25,000£ sterling.

The footing on which your Governors were placed by his Lordship has been another source of advantage to that great man, for the revenue to support his expence estimated at £36,000 annually was received by Lord Clive, though his Lordship was not above three months in the chair after the Resolution of Council which fixed that salary on your Governor was taken and put in force; and, even for those three months you will find by a reference to his Lordship's account current with the Company as recorded on consultation of January that no part of that £36,000 went to the disbursement of his expences. What further may have arisen to his Lordship from the jewels he kept to himself and for which the Company is credited upon his valuation is a matter for speculation. The advance of one year rents of his

jagghire made him by Mr. V[erelst] is just a present of 2,400£ sterling the interest arising on the money so advanced. For further information I refer you to the enclosed statement, as the statement is drawn but by myself from such information as I could procure and rely on. I have stiled the advantages that have arisen to his Lordship by his last Eastern enterprize publickly known, though it is possible some circumstances may not, as they are of a private nature, and in my humble opinion not very consistent. However "dormitat Homerus" is ready for the admirers of his Lordship and indeed is the only palliation when so great a man shall appear to sink beneath himself. On his Lordship's departure, the appointments to which Colonel Richard Smith succeeded did prove a source of contention. The title of Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Bengall is esteemed a jewell in the cap of your Governors' as such Mr. V———t was for having the Colonel omit the word "Chief" in the orders he might issue, urging the obvious impropriety of two being vested with that title, whilst the Colonel, on his side, pointed out the absurdity he should be guilty of in declining, or giving away, any honor any title conferred upon him by his employers. This difference of sentiment between the great men was very near productive of an open quarrell. When Mr. V———t bethought him of an expedient, to which the Colonel from his inclination to be on terms with the Governor acquiesced; and he is now Commander-in-Chief *under the Presidency*. This ridiculous circumstance has nevertheless created an animosity which, though smothered, has exerted ever since and is daily increasing. A present of two lacks of rupees has been tendered by the King to Colonel Smith. Of this the Gentlemen of the Select Committee have been informed and their sanction asked by him for his acceptance, and which I believe has been denied him, as likewise his permission asked to leave his brigade in order to pass some of his time in Calcutta. On the arrival of Messrs. Becher and Alexander some changes were deemed necessary. In consequence Mr. Russell's appointment of Collector General and Member[ship] of the Select Committee were bestowed on Mr. Becher, and in lieu, Mr. Russell, deaf to the voice of friendship, claimed and had conferred on him the post of Military Storekeeper long since vested in Mr. Floyer, and Mr. Alexander the post of Custom Master. It appears but just that Mr. Becher, whose station entitles him to employments of greatest consequence, should have the preference to Mr. Russell. I shrewdly suspect, however, that such preference would not have been shewn him if the other had not been guilty of indiscretion from a false notion of his own consequence and the stability of appointments he in a manner held from Lord Clive. I am not acquainted in what particular he has offended Mr. Vereist. I only know he has offended him, that he is now thoroughly humbled, and that he cringes to him like a

slave—a very slave—for favor. Lest these circumstances should give you a wrong idea of the abilities of Mr. R[ussell] or create an erroneous opinion of his weakness, I have to remark that the wisest will sometimes err, that from what I have observed of his conduct and have heard of his deportment and proceedings, I rather suspect him a man of deep design, self-interest, his ruling principal object to his superiors, sly and insinuating. To set off these virtues he is blessed with a good address and shameless front. The Chiefship of Cossimbazar which the General Letters of this season direct to be separated from the Residency at the Durbar still remains vested in the same person, whom Mr. Russell has (inadvertently I suppose) offended by enquiring when he purposed to resign it, as he should be glad to apply for it when it became vacant. What answer he received may be imagined. Mr. Sykes has not as yet expressed the least desire to part with his Chiefship or more properly to make a merit of his disinterestedness. He submits himself to the orders of his Superiors and shall to his utmost consult the Company's advantage. It is well known the Chiefship of Cossimbazar is productive but of trouble. What view then can he have in keeping it? None but the Company's interests; and, as the promotion of those he has ever had most sincerely at heart, he deems it a happiness to be possessed of an opportunity that must convince his Employers how little his own case is consulted when their service calls for his attention. The Government have been pleased to trust to him the provision of the Company's investment. To observe the various doublings of Asian policy, the smooth deceit in short, the great farce kept up by men in power, is a fund of inexhaustible amusement, for everlasting ridicule and contempt are and must ever await the egregious folly men are guilty of when they vainly think to impose on the world by attempting to veil their proceedings.

A letter from Mr. Sykes and a copy of my answer on a subject somewhat extraordinary goes enclosed. As I know he sometimes corresponds with you, I was suspicious he might have made a merit with you by transmitting his letter to me and my answer if it had been worded so as to convey the idea of my being indebted to his friendship for some favors he is there pleased to insinuate he has conferred upon me, and without descending to particulars, I should not have taken the notice I have done of his letter, but have permitted him to have enjoyed the idea of having imposed on me under the garb of friendship, if I had thought it possible thereby to have conciliated matters; but, dreading the probability of his turning any general acknowledgement of mine to my prejudice, I thought it most prudent to convince him that I could stand without his favor and could dispense his displeasure. Three vacancies since my residence in Calcutta have occurred, *viz.* two at Dacca and one at Cossimbazar. To the former Messrs. Goodwin

and Lambert are preferred, to the latter Mr. Palk. The thirdship of Cossimbazar, although Mr. Forbes had held that station for the space of almost a year, was privately tendered to me by Mr. Becher who did not (when he made the tender) know that any other appointments were to take place. I replied I was much obliged to him for such an instance of his esteem, giving him at the same time to understand that, if he could affix some particular privilege to the appointment, I should think myself much indebted to his patronage, otherways the appointment would not be worth my acceptance. He very obligingly applied to Mr. Verelst and to explain what I wanted unthinkingly shewed him my note. Mr. Verelst catches the occasion, bursts into pretended passion, exclaims "what dictate to the Board," and appoints Mr. Lambert to Dacca, and subsequent to that Mr. Goodwin, though my prior right was urged, and that I should be glad of the appointment by which I should be fixed second of that factory to which I had been before nominated Chief. To account for the latent cause of such behaviour from Mr. Verelst towards me I must remark that he seems long to have considered me the object of Mr. Sykes' resentment, and consequently every circumstance that tends to my mortification is as a cement to his connection with that gentleman; else why the artful proposition to fill the Cossimbazar vacancy and let a private tender be made to me of it, when he knew the appointment far from advantageous and that it must (if I had accepted it) lay me very much in the power of Mr. Sykes who I had offended or more properly who was pleased to be offended with me—and this at the very time another appointment offered of some advantage, and to which Mr. Verelst knew I should have deemed myself very happy to have been preferred. From such striking circumstances it is most natural for me to infer that Mr. V. presupposed my reply to Mr. Becher would afford him some pretext for setting me aside in the appointment he purposed to Dacca. I am further strengthened in this conjecture as I understand Mr. Verelst had passed his word with his brother-in-law, Mr. Court, to appoint Mr. Lambert to that factory. The news of Mr. Case's death reaching Calcutta soon after Mr. Lambert's appointment, Mr. Lambert took Mr. Case's station of 4th and Mr. Goodwin Mr. Lambert's of 3rd. So that had seniority in any degree been consulted, as the Gentlemen in Council would have you imagine it is, it would be necessary they avoid opposing facts to your credulity. Mr. Goodwin is Mr. Lambert's senior, yet if Mr. Case had lived, Mr. Lambert would have been the 3rd of Dacca and Mr. Goodwin would not have been thought of. I must do Mr. Becher the justice to say I am convinced of the kindness of his intentions towards me, but the times, which must be consulted, deprive me of that advantage I should have otherwise hoped for from the influence of his station.

With respect to the other gentlemen of Council, Messrs. Rumbold and Kelsall excepted, they are scarce of my acquaintance. Mr. Alexander is

at all times seemingly glad to see me and is a very engaging and agreeable man. He is, however, a man of the world, close yet apparently open, and idea of this makes me rather backward in cultivating his esteem, and which I must nevertheless wish to possess. I should therefore esteem it kind in you to address him that I may with greater facility attract his more particular attention.

It is with pleasure I observe that the dread of our arms seems in a degree to have quelled that spirit of enterprize in Hindu princes which formerly threatened your possessions here, and the blow lately given to the united power of Hyder Naig (or Hyder Ali) and Nizam Ali promises fair, not only for the permanance of the revenues you draw from the Carnatic, but promises you still further advantages from the Deccan. One of the brigades on this establishment is in consequence proceeding thither, under the command of Colonel Peach. Three hundred Europeans and 3,000 seapoys are already arrived at Vizagapatam and Mussulapatam, and it is supposed when the remaining battalions of seapoys and the remaining companies of Europeans arrive, the brigade will march with all expedition for Hydrabad, the Nazim's capital. What further plans is laid by the gentlemen of Madras, who are thus enabled to attack at one time both the powers they are engaged with and in their own countries, has not yet been divulged. The entire reduction of Hyder Naig, though it may be effected, is not deemed so easy a task as the reduction of Nizam Ally, for the Moysurians and subjects of Hyder Naig are deemed not only superior to the Nazim's subjects in bravery, but their country is more difficult of access, besides the Nazim's perfidy in breaking his treaty demands some particular mark of resentment. Contempt is too dangerous as it dwells in the mind and rouses man to vengeance. The campaign on the coast will in all probability commence before the end of this month, and you need not doubt will terminate to the advantage of the Company. In the midst of success, I cannot, however, dispel that apprehension of danger which men of more sanguine expectations are not subjected to, who think because they have that they are still to go on conquering. I confess I experience a jealousy of the intriguing spirit of the French, a spirit which it is the interest of the Asian princes to cherish, and that they will find out the means to effect this is beyond a cavil. Your agents here have been extremely remiss in suffering them to gain that footing they now hold in Asia, and will be still more so in permitting them to extend their influence—an influence already too extensive; for in proportion to the idea the natives entertain of their importance, in like proportion must their idea of yours sink. Therefore I must insist upon it that the lower you keep the French in Bengall the more for your interests, whereas instead of the letter and spirit of the treaty which directs such a number of agents on behalf of the French Company to reside at their

Factory of Chandernagore being attended to there are ten times the number, their military is trebled. How weak and how absurd such an indulgence is to the known enemies and long professed rivals of our Company deserves to be candidly and impartially discussed by you. It has been urged by the French that the number of their military as stipulated by the treaty of peace was very inadequate to the protection necessary for the purposes of trade and support of their Government, and that, as a company or two of sepoys was so absolutely necessary, they hoped for our indulgence. This ridiculous argument with a little French grimace and flattery produced the wished-for effect, whereas it ought to have had the very contra consequence. It can scarcely be urged it is for the advantage of the English Company to support or encourage the trade of the French. Why then forego the opportunity of rendering their factories throughout the country contemptible by denying a request your agents' compliance to which gives that degree of consequence and importance they would otherwise have been destitute of? And as such compliance is a kind of tacit acknowledgement of the impracticability urged by the French of conducting their business, it cannot, when necessary, be easily revoked, for they will plead it, be assured, and such a precedent will point out pretty strongly that the revocation of the indulgence granted can be with no other view than to exclude the French from the trade of this country; and what may prove the consequence of such a representation when it carried conviction of its justness, is a knotty point to solve. With respect to the trade of the French Company, the memorials presented by that nation represent it to their employers in the most discouraging point of view, and the memorial of the Dutch the very counterpart of the French, and as a proper refutation has not been attempted by your President and Council. I apprehend they must have weight, and it is very possible involve the Directors in some disagreeable altercation with Dutch and French Commissaries. When I was at Maulda, I recollect the Dutch preferred a most scandalous complaint setting forth how much their Dadney merchants were oppressed, and that in short they expected no investment from that part of the country. As it was my duty to invalidate such a charge I immediately began a scrutiny, and was attended with all the success I could wish for. In a very short time I procured an authentic account of the quantity of cloths that had been provided in the name of the Dutch Company, an account which fully detected the falsity of their representation, for the number of pieces of cloth to that time provided (to the month of July) under sanction of the Publick name of the Dutch Company exceeded any investment ever made by the Dutch in the course of the whole season in the time of former Nabobs, and yet half the season was not elapsed when their memorials were presented and at which very time they had got in such a vast

quantity of cloths. Upon investigating the matter still further, I found the Dutch Dadney merchants were under some private engagements and which they were more anxious to fulfil than those to the Publick. I am, therefore, suspicious that however solicitous the Dutch may publickly appear for the interests of their Company, that they daily find it more advantageous to themselves to make ready money purchases at Chinsurah on account of their employers and to amuse them as well as you with their absurd cavils, false complaints, memorials; and this is the very same case with the French who equally pretend they cannot make *puttun* purchases, and yet for these two years past have sent home such extraordinary goods and valuable investments. This matter may so very easily be enlightened and the whole procedure of the Dutch and French Agents so fully exposed, that I am surprised proper officers of the Government are not appointed to that end, and some English gentlemen to the inspection of the conduct of these officers. Without such a check nothing can be done. All Asiatics allow a charm irresistible in gold, and experience evinces they are all too much under its influence. I am aware that in answer to what I have objected against the rival companies and their agents will be attempted to be refuted by assertion as equally false as it is absurd—that it is the English merchants who enable them to complete the cargoes of the ships they dispatch for Europe, whereas I am convinced it is so far from the truth that I would venture my all, whenever it can be brought to the test, if above a tenth part of the Dutch and French cargoes for Europe is proved to be purchased of merchants who enjoy the immediate protection of the English flag and a tenth is but a small proportion when the number and opulence of the merchants of Calcutta is comparatively considered with the merchants of Chandernagore and Hughly. Yet the Dutch and French jointly have not shipped for Europe less than sixty odd lacs of rupees for these two last years past.

The encouragement of the trade of the Dutch and French Companies I know has and is still regarded to be an advantage to the Country and consequently to the English Company; but, on a fair and candid disquisition, I apprehend every argument that can possibly be urged in support of such an assertion will be found more specious than solid. As for Bullion none is imported here by either nation, and yet that is the only benefit which can accrue to you. At least it is the only benefit obvious to me and their taking off the manufactures of the country under other circumstances is a real detriment.

The amount of the sums which have been remitted to Europe through the channel of the Dutch and French Companies, from the time of your refusing bills in 1765 to this time, you must not estimate at less than one million two hundred thousand pounds, £1,200,000. The sum though very great, yet I really believe short of what has been paid into the cash of the

Dutch and French Companies. The present terms on which the French grant bills is $2\frac{1}{2}$ per rupee and a sight of 365 days, and for the last nine months or 275 days an interest at the rate of 4 per cent. per annum is allowed. Even at this rate of exchange, bills are only granted for half the amount you pay into their cash; the other half remains there twelve months at an interest of 6 per cent., and at the expiration of that term bills at 365 days and exchange at $2\frac{1}{2}$ is to be granted. Such are the advantages your rivals enjoy in conducting their trade, whilst we find a difficulty in realising your possessions.

I cannot pass over this without a remark which you may make either subservient to the publick or to your own private interest, though I am apprehensive the opportunity is past, as the French find they can with such facility procure cash here for bills, otherwise bills might be granted on India in favor of Dutch and French at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per rupee payable in three months and redrawn either at the same rate or 2. To effect this, either on behalf of the publick or on a private account, requires no capital; and, as for the regulations and restrictions necessary for the proper execution of such a scheme, they are obvious and easy. I would myself undertake to answer drafts to the amounts of £300,000 provided our Company still continue to reject cash for bills, and should esteem myself much indebted to any friend who would consider me so much as to negotiate such a remittance, and put out to interest the sum in consequence received the interest on which to be divided equally betwixt us. The sum I would undertake to answer drafts to the amount of may appear large to you who are not on the spot and consequently cannot form an idea of the difficulty that attends the remitting cash from hence. Even the French make a great merit with our gentlemen in receiving their cash and require a very great interest with their Governor or some particular members of their Council, to get money accepted into their cash for bills.

The scheme is feasible and the drawer is not at any risk. Johnstone has drawn in favor of the French for £70,000 and Major Munro for £20,000, in all £90,000 and the exchange $2\frac{1}{4}$ and Mr. Scrafton in favor of private gentlemen to the amount of about £8,000 at $2\frac{1}{4}$ and that sum is redrawn at the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ or $2\frac{1}{1}$, I am not certain of which exchange.

I quote these instances that you may embrace every opportunity of drawing upon me, and not be under any apprehension of laying me under a difficulty. Now is the time, with the proviso that the Company adhere to their old system and do not permit their agents in India to draw on them.

As Johnstone's is his own money no other advantage accrues to him than the realising his property in Europe at $2\frac{1}{4}$, but, as Mr. Scrafton's drafts are on a different footing, I shall just notice the profit arising to that gentleman, *viz.* :—

Drafts for £8,000 at 2/4 in current rupees	...	68,571	6	10
Do. Do. 2/2 as redrawn	...	73,846	2	4
Difference betwixt the money paid on Mr. Scafton's drafts and the money received for the same amounts of £ drawn on Mr. Scafton				
French Bills for £5,274-11-6 in favor of Mr. Scafton is	...	5,274	11	6
Interest at 4 per cent. on £8,000 for 18 months	...	480	0	0
Nett gain to Mr. Scafton by the above drafts	...	£1,051	8	4

I have nothing further to urge on this matter only that in case of accident to me, you may depend my attorneys whoever they be will honor my bills.

Since writing the foregoing letters have been received from Fort St. George which suspend the embarkation of the Brigade destined for the Deccan, and it is currently reported that a peace is likely to be concluded by the gentlemen of Fort St. George. It is my wish that the gentlemen do not suffer themselves to be amused, and, by procrastination, afford your enemy an opportunity of collecting and opposing to yours a much more formidable force than that your arms have already vanquished. It is said but upon what foundation I know not, that the Dutch are meditating some expedition of consequence, and it is further said that the French have assisted Hydar Naig, as far as their circumstances would admit, by underhandly encouraging their own troops to desert over to him. If these prove to be truths, delays in the prosecution of your military operations on the coast may be of the most pernicious consequence. In the first place you lose every advantage that might be made of the late gained victory, and afford your adversaries an opportunity of collecting together their scattered forces, and of adding to those by fresh levies, and the French time to embark the three complete regiments they have on the Island of Bourbon with a view of encouraging a desertion or an apparent desertion of the major part of those regiments to the power at war with you in the Carnatic.

The many ills that may accrue to the Company from the restless spirit of the French, points out the necessity of obstructing as much as possible their politick intercourse with the courts and princes of Asia. For this salutary purpose it might not be amiss to station a Resident at Hughly or between the two factories of Chinsurah and Chandernagore, and to render the Phousdar of Hughly immediately dependant on such Resident, yet at the same time to be secret as to the authority that Resident is vested with. Further that all publick representations from the factories of Chinsurah and Chandernagore

may be forwarded to Calcutta through him, and that through him replies will be made and representations from the Board of Calcutta presented to them.

Last night I received a letter from my brother enclosing a further testimony of my friend Sykes' kindness. Some time ago I requested of Roger not to give into the Board of Cossimbazar any publick letter on any subject that might immediately relate to himself without first sending it for my perusal. He in consequence forwarded to me the enclosed which appearing to me improper, I committed to paper what I thought should be wrote by a person in his circumstances, and have sent it up to him in the form of a letter from him to the Chief and Committee of Cossimbazar to be delivered if he thinks proper. You will observe the letter that orders my brother from Ichanghurpore lays not anything to his charge. Farewell, my dear and honored Parent, and be assured.

I am, etc.

An Account of the Advantages publickly known to have [accrued] to Lord Clive from the time of his being appointed Governor of Fort William in 1764 to the time of his resigning his Government in 1767, and until his arrival in Europe to the January 1768.....

The Nabob Meer Jaffier's Legacy noticed in Consultation of April 1766

Principal Siccas ... 500,000

The Nabob Nazim Uldoula's additional gift in consequence of a fund for the support of invalided officers being represented to him as a thing necessary. This sum was paid into the treasury by Mr. Verelst and a bond taken out for the amount sometime in April 1766 in the name of his Lordship 200,000

Siccas 700,000

Batta 16 per cent 112,000

Current Rupees 812,000

Interest for the year 1766. One year @ 8 per cent. 64,960

876,960

Interest for the year 1767. One year @ 8 per cent 70,156 12 10

947,116 12 10

	947,116 12 10
Interest for the year 1768. One year @ 8 per cent.	75,769 4 8
Amount in 1768 is	10,22,886 1 6
<i>N.B.</i> —Should his Lordship be permitted to accept this Legacy even on condition of his appropriating it for the benefit of the invalided officers I do suppose the Principal alone will be paid by him for such purpose. In such case there will still be for his Lordship, the interest amounting to current Rupees 210886-1-6 @ 1 per rupee is £	
	23,724 13 6
The Governor's salary as fixed in September or October 1766. This is a commission on the revenues and computed @ 36,000£ per annum, the whole received by his Lordship, although his expences were otherwise defrayed during those three or four months he held the Chair after the Regulation which allotted such salary to the Governor took place ...	36,000 0 0
	59,724 13 0
One year's rents of his Lordship's Jagghire advanced him, <i>that is</i> , the rents of 1767 not due till 1768 January. This at the common rate of interest 8 per cent. is on £30,000 a gain to his Lordship of ...	2,400 0 0
Remittances in diamonds sent to Europe may be computed at the least £50,000. As there can be no doubt made of the judgment of the gentlemen employed in making such purchase or of the cheapness of it 20 per cent is a very moderate advantage to allow thereon ...	10,000 0 0
...	£72,124 13 6

Salt Concerns—his Lordship's proportion
in the trade of Salt, Beetlenutt and
Tobacco under the Direction of a Com-
mittee of Trade sold to Mr. Sykes for
the consideration of £ 25,000 ... 25,000

His Lordship's proportion of the Salt
purchased on the joint account of the
gentlemen of the Select Committee, sold
for the consideration of ... 5,000

£ Sterling 30,000

N.B.—These salt concerns are not added
to his Lordship's acquisitions as their
produce, it is said, was divided between
Messrs. Maskelyne, Strachey and
Ingram.

His Lordship's Estate in Europe the
saving during his absence computed @
5,000 £ per annum for 4 years is ... 20,000

Do. Do. Do. in India. The
Rents of his Jagghire for the years
1764, 1765, 1766, 1767, 4 years ... 120,000

...£140,000

Interest.....gain to His Lordship:

On the 1st. year saving in Europe of 5,000 } 600
£ Interest at 4 per cent. 3 years ... }

Do. 2nd year Do. 5,000£. on Do. for 2 years 400

Do. 3rd year Do. 5,000£. on Do. for 1 year 200

1,200

141,200

On the 1st. year's Jagghire remitted in
January 1765 amount received in London
in January 1766: Interest from that time
to January 1768 is 2 years at 4 per cent.
on 30,000 £ is ... 2,400

	Brought over	...	£ 72,124 13 6
	Brought over	... £ 2,400	
On the 2nd year's Do.	Do. in January		
1766: do. received in London in January			
1767, Int. Do. to Do. is 1 year at 4 per			
cent. on £ 30,000 is	...	1,200	
		<hr/>	
		3,600	144,800 0 0
			<hr/>
		Amount is £	216,924 13 6
Deduct His Lordship's expences from his			
arrival in England in July 1767 to January			
1768. Likewise for some trivial ex-			
pences during his passage (for the consi-			
deration made to Captain Rous for His			
Lordship's passage was paid from the			
Company's purse) supposing the whole			
amounting to	...		16,924 13 6
			<hr/>
Remains Nett. in January 1768	...		200,000 0 0
			<hr/>

[Here follows an invoice of muslins committed to the charge of Captain George Thompson.]

LETTER No. XCIV.

COPY OF LETTER OF GEORGE THOMPSON.

[Commercial: of no interest.]

LETTER No. XCV.

TO HIS FATHER.

CALCUTTA,

The 6th January 1768.

Honored and dear Sir,

In my last I advised of the success of my applications in behalf of my brother James. The few shares that are as yet to be disposed off you may advance on and depend that those shall be filled up before the last ship of the season goes for Europe. The letters enclosed are for the following gentlemen's proportions in the ship to be built for James

A letter for Mr. Cartier's proportion of two sixteenths

Do	Mr. Middleton's	Do	two sixteenths
Do	Mr. Sage's	Do	Do
Do	Mr. Scotney's	Do	Do
Do	Mr. Campbell's	Do	one sixteenth
Do	Mr. Playdell's	Do	Do
Do	Mr. Motte's	Do	Do
Do	Mr. Lister's	Do	Do

Remaining undisposed of—four sixteenths

A bill of exchange in your favor on Messrs Manningham and Smith is enclosed for my occasions amounting to £400.

I am etc.,

LETTER No. XCVI.

CALCUTTA,

The 20th December 1767.

TO MR. RICHARD BARWELL.

Dear Sir,

Your request to me to become an owner in a ship to be built for your brother James I most readily comply with, and you may acquaint your father or the gentlemen that may be appointed to husband such ship that I will answer their demands upon me to the amount of one sixteenth part. I wish it had been in my power to have taken a larger share.

I am etc.,

C. S. PLAYDELL.

LETTER Nos. XCVII.—CII.

Letters of acceptance as above by the persons named in Letter No. XCV—

LETTER No. CIII.

The 6th January 1768.

TO A. BEAUMONT AND R. LEYCESTER, ESQS.

[Of no interest.]

LETTER No. CIV.

CALCUTTA,

The 8th February 1768.

TO ANSELM BEAUMONT, ESQ.

Dear Beaumont,

I send enclosed an interest bond executed by Mr. William Bolts for £4,333-6-8 which you will I hope approve.

I have sent to Mr. Robert Garden Rs. 10,000 at respondentia on the *Snow Adriana* as noted on the back of my letter of instructions to that gentleman copy of which you will find enclosed. The attested copy of the respondentia bond you shall have by the next ship.

I am most sincerely
your friend.

LETTER No. CV.

CALCUTTA,

The 9th January 1768.

TO ROBERT GARDEN, ESQ.

Dear Sir,

The amount of your bond to me account Mr. Beaumont with the premium you will oblige me by remitting to Europe the first opportunity via Aleppo. The bills must be made payable to Anselm Beaumont Esq., or order in London. Provided no opportunity should offer before you leave Busserah, you will in such case leave the money there at interest upon such security as you shall think the best with orders that when bills are procurable that the whole with the interest accumulating be remitted in the manner here recommended.

I am etc.,

Respondentia Bond on the <i>Snow Adriana</i> from the port			
of Calcutta to Busserah for Current rupees			
...	...	...	10,000
Premium 10 per cent	...	...	1,000
Current rupees	...	...	11,000

LETTER No. CVI.

SHIP NORTHINGTON,

February, 1768.

TO ANSELM BEAUMONT AND RALPH LEYCESTER, ESQRS.

Gentlemen,

As I have disposed off one ton of my privilege as commander of the ship *Northington* for the valuable consideration of £70 to Mr. Richard Barwell of Calcutta which sum I have received, I at the desire of that gentleman now request and authorise you to make application in my name and to clear out of the India House as my privilege the said one ton.

By my engagements with Mr. Barwell I am to deliver the goods at the India House the dangers of the seas, pirates, fire, enemies, etc., excepted agreeably to Bills of lading to be transmitted you and I am there to enter those goods as part of my privilege. But should I dispose of the goods at sea which Mr. Barwell has recommended to me to do if an opportunity offers I am in such case to receive for my trouble a premium of 10 per cent on the invoice price of his goods, and on paying to you the proceeds after deducting the said 10 per cent I am entitled to receive from you my bills of lading equally as if the goods specified in those bills had been delivered to you and had been cleared out at the India House as my privilege.

I am not to dispose of the goods at sea under ten per cent on the invoice.

I am etc.,

JOHN SEALY.

LETTER No. CVII.

28th February 1768.

TO MESSRS. A. BEAUMONT AND R. LEYCESTER.

[Of no]interest].

LETTER No. CVIII.

CALCUTTA,

The 28th February 1768,

MR. WILLIAM EYTON.

Sir,

I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 12th March 1767 and in consequence send you enclosed copies of accounts currents delivered to me upon my application to Mr. Banks.

As Mr. Banks has all along acted but as the attorney to the Administrator to your son's estate and as Mr. Goring the Administrator is now in England, permit me to refer you to that gentleman for further information.

With respect to the restitution money still due to the unhappy sufferers in 1763 it is and I much apprehend may entirely be withheld from them. The propriety or impropriety of such a measure rests with a Court of Proprietors of India stock and their determination must approve or condemn the conduct of Lord Clive and the Gentlemen of the Select Committee on this occasion.

I beg to assure you of my attention to your interests and that any information I can procure conducive thereto to give you a further insight into your son's estate shall be punctually communicated.

I am etc.,

[Here follows an account of the Estate of William Eyton in account with Sutton Banks.]

LETTER No. CIX.

TO HIS UNCLE.

CALCUTTA,

The 28th February 1768.

Honored and Dear Sir,

I have the pleasure to enclose you account sales of the two chests of coral marked R. B. No. 1 to 2 imported by the *Hector*, the nett proceeds of which agreeably to your permission I have taken upon the same terms as the cash left in my hands by my friend Mr. Beaumont, *vis.*, at 8 per cent per annum payable in India. These terms I flatter myself you will approve as they are much more beneficial to you and more convenient to me for as a coral merchant you are entitled to bills of exchange on the English Company for the proceeds of your coral. Whereas was the property mine I should not be liable to procure bills, but upon terms extremely disadvantageous. For further information permit me to refer you to Mr. Beaumont who is master of the particulars you may wish to be informed of.

I write Mr. Eyton by this conveyance and wish it was in my power to give him more satisfaction than I am convinced my letter will afford him. There are four sixteenths of Restitution still due to the unhappy sufferers in the trouble of 1763. When that will be paid I know not for Party has hitherto withheld it from the distress claimants, and those must in consequence expect either from the law or from a Court of Proprietors such redress as they may in justice be entitled to.

Commending myself to your affection I take my leave and am with a sincere love.

My dear and honoured Sir,
YOUR NEPHEW.

LETTER No. CX.

CALCUTTA,
The 28 February 1768.

TO ANSELM BEAUMONT, ESQ.

Dear Beaumont,

After repeated applications to Plowman I have at last procured his answer which you will find enclosed ; whether it will be a sufficient explanation to you of the order given by Palk, Morse and Holland for the payment of Rupees 901-4-1 I know not further than that the cause of such an order to me is as yet a mystery.

I am much concerned that the opportunities that have hitherto offered have proved so inadequate to my intentions or wishes on your behalf. The whole amount I have been enable to remit you is only Rs. 50,000; what success may attend my endeavours this ensuing year the September ship will unravel to you. I have commissioned Frank Scott to procure bills or to lend respondentia to the Europe Captains that sail from Bombay or to lend upon diamonds, or, in short, to pursue any eligible method whatever of remitting with this precaution to advise you in time to enable you to ward off any risk that to accomplish a remittance may become indispensably necessary. I have in this manner commissioned Garden at Bussorah and Dunston and Coles at Bencoolin, for with what I have remitted for my own account this year with the bills I shall be entitled to next year I do not suppose that for myself I shall have occasion for £2,000, and was I not under the necessity of paying so much in England, believe me you alone should be considered. I have not remitted a Rupee but what has been known to you except about £600 to my father for necessities, and as you must be sensible of the difficulties I have labored under to effect that so necessary a remittance, you, I make no doubt, will be pleased with the little I have done for you. Professions and acts should be similar and both I hope have and will continue to evince the sincerity of that esteem I bear you.

The war upon the coast is said to be drawing to a conclusion ; the detachment commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Hart is within three days of Hyderabad, Nazim Ally's capital. In consequence the Nazim to defend his capital has separated his forces from those of Hyder Ally's but finding his

own unequal to the English force he has offered terms which it is supposed the gentlemen of Fort St. George will acquiesce to.

Hyder Ally is retired to his own country which in all human probability will be subjected to another by the English arms. His force is dispirited by two defeats and since by the separation of the troops under Nazim Ally. They are nevertheless unbroken [and] it is reported that he has taken post and fortified his camp where in the heart of his dominions he expects our attack, but this is so much like Asian parade that I desired it and rather think he will yield or shut himself up in his strongest and most inaccessible fort.

We have had an expedition on foot to Nepaul in consequence of application for assistance from the Raja who has been shut up from time to time for these six years past in his capital by his hill neighbours. As a number of our seapoys have been already lost I am not certain whether it will not overset the expedition. In my opinion the gentlemen ought not to tempt fortune too far.

Every happiness attends you.

I am etc.,

LETTER No. CXI.

TO HIS FATHER.

CALCUTTA,

The 28th February 1768.

HONORED AND DEAR SIR,

I have already wrote pretty fully under date the 9th December and which I now presume to confirm.

Advices received from Fort St. George inform us that the war with Hyder Ally is drawing to a conclusion; that Nizam Ally being under the necessity of separating himself from Hyder Ally in order to defend his own territories has taken with him a large proportion of the troops which composed that respectable force with which Hyder Ally invaded the Carnatic; that the two defeats Hyder Ally had sustained even in the zenith of his power must have greatly dispirited his army; and that this separation of Nizam Ally's forces will in all probability produce an universal dejection and consequently Hyder Ally's utter ruin.

The force opposed to Nizam Ally by the last accounts had advanced within three days' march of Hyderabad his capital, led by Lieutenant-Colonel Hart; the Nazim, it is further said, has offered terms of accommodation to which it is supposed the gentlemen at Madras will acquiesce, but what the terms offered or the terms insisted on by the gentlemen of Madras are is to me a secret.

The force with Lieutenant-Colonel Hart is mostly composed of the Bengal troops to the command of which Colonel Peach must shortly succeed, for we have advices of the arrival of the left detachment sent from hence at Vizagapatam which detachment he accompanied.

The spirit of enterprise which has existed for ten years past in Bengal has produced an expedition towards the southern mountains of Tartary pernicious to our influence in those parts and ruinous to ourselves. The circumstance that gave rise to it was an application for relief from the Rajah of Nepaul who has been severely distressed and even shut up in his capital from time to time by his hill neighbours for these seven years past. The force destined for the expedition was 2,400 seapoys commanded by Captain Kinloch a Scotch gentleman entirely ignorant of the country and people. The number of officers on an expedition of this nature I suppose ought rather to have been increased than diminished; nevertheless through Captain Kinloch's influence the officers were reduced to the lowest number possible, and that number all Scotch and all possessed with the idea of making their fortunes in the course of the expedition. Before the troops entered the passes, the officers were informed of the absolute necessity there was for supplying their bazar grain from the low country, and in consequence took with them, I do suppose, an ample quantity of provisions, the major part of which on the second or third days' march was unhappily destroyed by a sudden torrent from the hills. Yet in despite of such a misfortune the troops continued their march and penetrated to the last difficult pass in the enemy's country; but, as no means had been used to introduce provisions to the camp from the low country,—at least no provisions had been introduced,—the soldiers here experienced all the extremity of want. Four entire companies deserted to the enemy in consequence, whilst the parties straggling about in search of provisions were in general cut off. A retreat was therefore determined on and effected without opposition from the enemy. The troops returned are in number about 800. The miscarriage of this expedition may be assigned to one cause, the too great confidence of overcoming difficulties as soon as encountered, grounded on a mean opinion of the courage of the nations to which our arms are opposed.

The spirits of the Gentlemen of our Committee seem to be greatly elated by the news of General Sullivan's repulse from Leadenhall; they wish and as they wish they affirm for I have heard it asserted that the victory obtained under his Lordship's auspices is so decisive as to put it out of General Sullivan's power to return to the charge with any probability of success. I give you this that you may smile at the conjectures of men so very far removed from the scene of action. Through Mr. Becher I have been appointed to the post of Store-keeper to the Works, and that

without application made on my part. I nevertheless wish to be out of Calcutta in my former station, or in one of equal to the charge I formerly held. It has been currently reported that Sykes's inordinate desire to be rich has made him transgress decency in his acquisitions. His Excellency Mahomed Reza Cawn has in private manner intimated to the Governor that from 12 to 13 lacks of rupees in *salamees* and farms have been reaped by Mr. Sykes or his banian Contoo. This intimation, however, was suppressed, and his Excellency discouraged from making it publick, thanks to Mr. Verelst's regard to the character of our Resident at the Durbar. Sykes's fortune, I make no doubt, equals Lord Pigot's—a circumstance almost incredible.

Mahomed Reza Cawn gave Mr. V[erelst] the information regarding the abovementioned 12 lacks at the beginning of this month at which time he was in Calcutta on a visit to the Governor.

Exclusive of this many representations have been made setting forth the all grasping disposition of Sykes and the impossibility of purchasing one single article of merchandise in those districts over which his authority more immediately extends. The exclusive right he has to the trade in salt-petre, wood and silk is besides a fixed and certain advantage. The salt petre gives him Rs. 50,000 and for which he does not advance one rupee; the wood in the same manner; but the silk he does advance on. The two former he deals in through the influence of the Government, the last through his own influence as Chief of the Cossimbazar Factory. The whole of the three articles may be computed at 2,50,000 rupees certain yearly income, so that with his trade I make no doubt of his having cleared in these two last years 12 lacks of rupees each year. The representations made have been done in private manner by Messrs. Alexander Russell, Kelsall, and Aldersey to Mr. Verelst in consequence of repeated letters of complaint to those gentlemen from their *Gomastahs*.

I am etc.,

LETTER NO. CXII.

CALCUTTA,

The 28th February 1768.

TO HIS FATHER,

[Of no interest.]

LETTER NO. CXIII.

CALCUTTA,

The 20th March 1768.

TO A. BRAUMONT AND R. LEYCESTER, ESQRS.,

[Notice of Draft and Draft.]

LETTER No. CXIV.

CALCUTTA.

The 19th September 1768.

TO A. BEAUMONT AND R. LEVCESTER, ESQRS.,

[“To be inquired for at the Jerusalem Coffee House.”]

LETTER No. CXV.

CALCUTTA,

The 29th August 1768.

TO MR. PETER MARRIETTE, FORT ST. GEORGE.

[Of no interest.]

LETTER No. CXVI.

CALCUTTA,

The 10th September 1768.

TO HENRY VANSITTART, ESQR.,

Dear Sir,

Accept my thanks for your obliging letter of the 12th January. The little acknowledgement I made you by Capt. Howe I am sorry to hear from that gentleman has been attended with an accident that may possibly have deprived me of half that pleasure I had purposed you. The directions on two of the vials of Otta not being legible he writes me he purposed to deliver them to Mr. Beaumont unless they should be claimed, and as he takes notice but of one directed for you I am very apprehensive you have been disappointed. Excuse my negligence in not having given Mr. Howe a memorandum and be pleased to accept of two vials per favour of Mr. Keir directed in your absence to Mr. Arthur Vansittart. The various reports that are circulated here and said to be from the best authorities are as opposite as north and south. What we wish for we are in general apt to flatter ourselves into the assurance of its coming to pass. Thus the dependants on the present Court of Directors are as sanguine in their expectations as the well-wishers to your cause are sanguine in theirs, and may be distinguished by the appellation of jurators and abjurators. The prior the most numerous, the latter the most powerful. But leaving to these gentlemen their favourite opinions permit me to wish you every happiness and to worth its just success. Should fortune favor your pretensions the situation of affairs here I am convinced will contribute greatly to your honor. The present mode of collecting the revenues calls

loudly for a reform, and unless abilities to plan and a spirit to execute be equally exerted the golden prospect to the nation will assuredly vanish. I would enumerate particulars, but as I cannot do it with that degree of accuracy I could wish, you must admit a general and concise account of the Company's present state in India :

War with Hyde Naig ; the troops belonging to the Presidency of Bombay quite dispirited and the Presidency of Fort St. George distressed for cash as well as Bombay ; the revenues of Bengal dwindled to at least 30 lacks ; not a month's pay for the troops in the Treasury and a war apprehended with Sujaud Dowlah from the great increase of his forces and the preparations he is daily making ; Jawarsing the Jaut lately cut off and a union, it is currently reported, is to take place betwixt Suja Dowlah, the Jauts, Sikhs and Rohillahs and Messrs Cartier, Colonel Smith and Russell are deputed to Eliabad. They set out on the departure of this ship for England. It is confidently asserted the French have 6,000 regulars at the islands. What an agreeable scene such as I believe the gentlemen in Leadenhall did not expect and which it is incumbent on the gentlemen at St. James to do more than debate upon. I commend myself to your esteem and am with a real attachment.

Dear Sir,

Your humble servant.

LETTER No. CXVII.

TO WILLIAM BARWELL, ESQ.

Honored and Dear Sir,

Your three letters dated the 28th June, 27th July and 3rd December 1767 are all received, the latter happily within a few days of the two former. Happily as it relieved me in great measure from that apprehension and dread which the news of your ill health had occasioned, and I now wish for intelligence as pleasing relative to my unhappy brother whose misfortune I tenderly lament. I drop here this affecting subject and leave to time to mitigate to you that affliction I cannot relieve.*

* I am sorry to observe you deem that real which in me is but a seeming inattention. Your letters, believe me, ever have claimed my most serious attention. I love, I honor you too much not to wish to give you every satisfaction. Therefore when I prove so unfortunate as to run counter to your precepts I no sooner recollect myself than I am filled with the apprehension of having offended you. Thus the dread of incurring your displeasure proves an adequate punishment for the transgressions I am guilty of, and I flatter myself I shall find in your affection that indulgence the errors of youth may claim. *Et mihi res nec me rebus subjungere conor* shall from henceforth be as strictly attended to as my nature will admit.

* Latin quotation unintelligible.

The application of the brawling crew though extremely severe I acknowledge to be in some degree just. What then you will possibly think can be urged in my vindication for not having hitherto attained the summum bonum so frequently recommended. Cannot your paternal regard apply *sic festinanti semper locupletator obstat*? I am sure if it cannot I have nothing more forcible to urge in my behalf.

I drew upon you sometime since the following bills of exchange which if you have not paid for want of a letter of advice I request you may disburse with interest:—

1 bill for £75 value received of Captain Adams 1767

1 bill £25 value recd. payable to Mrs. Elizabeth Portsmouth 1st January at 20 days sight.

1 do £50 to do. 3rd November 1767, 90 days sight

1 do £34 to do. 25th February 1768 at 60 days sight in all four bills.

The enquiry you acquaint me you had set on foot regarding my risk on the *Nottingham* I do suppose has led you at last to Mr. Beaumont who as I imagine must have given you such information as might be necessary. It is needless for me to attempt a further explanation. The engagements I am under to Captain Howe prevent my being more explicit. The attorneys to Mr. Spencer having remitted to me the account sales of the opium I consigned that gentleman, the adventure is of course terminated.

Mr. Verelst has shewn me your letter. Whether he will do anything for me in consequence I cannot pretend to affirm. Hitherto he had favored me with words, not deeds.

Roger I have the pleasure to tell you is in a fair way of attaining independency, and in a short time if not already his fortune will be superior to mine. How pleasing this reflection is to me who by the indulgence of Providence has been the happy instrument of advancing his welfare.

The removal of the 2nd, 3rd and 4th of Council at Cossimbazar having been occasioned by some misdemeanors laid to their charge, I purposed to have applied for the secondship, but having been given to understand it was designed for Mr. Maddison by the Governor, I deemed it most prudent to relinquish my pretensions which though they would have obstructed Mr. Maddison's appointment, might possibly have irritated Mr. Verelst so much as to have induced him to have overlooked the objections now subsisting against Messrs. Reid and Jekyll my seniors, the consequence of which must have been the cession of my pretensions to the plea of seniority which in such case would have been urged for Messrs. Reid and Jekyll. Therefore though I should have disappointed Mr. Maddison I should myself have been disappointed; this induced me rather to claim the patronage of Mr. Verelst for the chiefship of Chittagong as a matter of favour than make a publick

application for the secondship of Cossimbazar to which I had a juster claim. The consequence of this is that I have obtained Mr. Verelst's and Becher's absolute promise to promote me to that Chiefship, and as these two gentlemen upon the departure of Messrs. Cartier and Russell will be a majority of the Board I flatter myself I have nothing to apprehend, but life is a lottery and when we expect to draw a prize we too frequently find a blank.

This morning (the 6th September) instead of proving agreeable to Mr. Verelst's inclination to promote Mr. Maddison, has counteracted what was purposed in favour of that gentleman. Mr. Reid is appointed Provisional Chief of Chittagong, and I am advanced to the secondship of Cossimbazar. This want of complaisance in the Council has greatly chagrined the Governor, who seems to have had most at heart the promotion of Mr. Maddison. I must acknowledge myself however pleased with Mr. Verelst for not having opposed my appointment to Cossimbazar when he perceived he could not give me Chittagong.

A deputation consisting of three members of the Board Mr. Cartier, Col. Smith and Mr. Russell will set out shortly for Eliabad.* What is the occasion of their being sent up is not certainly known, and with respect to the reports that prevail here, those are so extremely vague that they are not worth the trouble of communicating. A war if possible should be avoided. Treasury is too weak to support its exigencies, and the revenues are dwindled to such a degree by the villanies of the black collectors that it is morally impossible your China ships should be supplied with bullion and an investment such as has been set you for two years past from hence be continued to you this ensuing year. The treasury for these four months has been drained to a single rupee and the distress of the Government such that an expedient has been fallen upon to induce the merchants to pay whatever ready money they have by them into the Company's cash. That you may be a better judge I enclose you the advertisement that has been issued. The gold coin of Calcutta has been a source of oppression to the fair trader, and as its real value is not within eleven per cent of its local value many are the hardships the merchants thereby labor under. He is obliged to receive the Calcutta gold mohurs at their local value, and when he wants to send them to the *arungs* in order to be advanced to the manufacturer the money changers insist on the just value of their silver. This of course obliges the merchant to part with his gold at its real instead of local value, and the difference is so much lost to the merchant. All innovations in the coin of a kingdom has been found productive of many evils, and I do suppose this of the Calcutta gold mohurs should the Company call them in will be attended with a loss of about 20 lacks of rupees of the

* Allahabad.

Government for it is morally probable that besides what has been publicly coined at the mints of Muxadabad, Dacca, Patna, and Calcutta the shroffs have a method to turn into specie all the gold they could lay their hands upon. This gold coin, it is to be observed, is one of his Lordship's improvements for the benefit of commerce.

With the heartiest wishes of health to you and to all my dear friends.

I am etc.,

[*To be continued*].

A Week at the Bandel Convent, Hughli.

(January 4—10, 1914.)

SUNDAY, January 4.—I arrive at the Bandel Convent about 4.30 P.M. I am to explore the Church Registers with the view of getting at the names of the Priests that at one time or other have been on duty here. This is the time for it, since one of our Fathers, now in Belgium, is compiling a history of our Bengal Missions.

As the Very Rev. Fr. M. V. Rodrigues, the Vicar Prior of the Convent, is gone to the Sunday School near the Railway Station and will not be back till 6.30 P.M., I make myself useful at once by copying any inscriptions that come under my notice.

In front of the Church, there are two inscriptions on either side of the paved pathway going up from the south gate to the portico. They are quite modern, it is true; but, my excuse for copying them is that a hundred years hence, they may have gone; if not, *we* shall be gone, and *they* will be sufficiently old by then to look venerable.

West I read:

In Loving Memory of / *Lilian Elsie Sheane-Smith* / beloved wife of / *Thomas Sheane-Smith* / who departed this life / on the 21st March, 1912. / Aged 34 years. / Thy will be done / (*E. W. Cheers & Son, Dinapur*). /

(Nearer to the path):

Kind / stranger / pray. / (*round cross*) / In loving memory / of *Melenthia Rose* / the beloved wife of / *Lewis T. Deefholts*, / died on 26th December 1887, / aged 43 years, 1 month / and 28 days. / R. I. P. / (*P. Swaries, Sec.*) /

East of the path we have:—

Sacred to the Memory of the late *Ellen Stalenberg* / who departed this life at Chinsurah, on the 22nd July 1886, aged 77 years. / Kind, good and gentle, dear mother, thou hast been; "Jesus" our Saviour will surely receive thee. / (*On the other side of the stone*). This Tablet has been erected by her affectionate and only son, / *J. A. Stalenberg*, / as a mark of deep, and true affection. / Blessed are the poor in Spirit for



SOUTH SIDE OF THE CHURCH AND CONVENT, BANDEL.

theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven. MATT. V. 3. / (*P. Swarier, Sct., Calcutta.*) /

(*Further away from the path*):

† / Of your charity pray / for the repose of the soul / of / *Sophia* / widow of the late / *Donald Macleod* / died 26th November 1891, / aged 67 years, / Requiescat in pace. / (*Dowling, Sculptor, Calcutta.*) /

The prayer to the kind stranger uttered by these dumb stones does not, indeed, always fall on deaf ears. One feels so like praying after reading their pathetically human stories.

All this is very recent, much too recent for such an old place as Bandel. Why! Are there no older stones lying about? Between the Church and the West wall, there is an open space covered with grass. It was the cemetery, and is still used as such; but, there is not a single inscription, scarcely even a cross. Where then is the old inscription to João Gomes de Soto, his wife and their descendants? I know the Church and have explored it several times; yet, never have I been able to find the inscription published by Asiaticus in 1803. It said:—

ESTE CARNERO MAND-
OV FASER IOM¹ GOM
ES DE SOTO E SUA MO
LLER² PERA ELES³ E S
EVS DESSENDENTE

S ONDE ESTAM SVAS
FILHAS SOGRA E CV
NHADO. OS QVAIS MA
NDARAM FAZER EST
A IGREIA ANNO 1661.

That is: "Joam Gomes de Soto and his wife ordered to make for them and their descendants this tomb, where lie their daughters, mother-in-law and brother-in-law, who ordered to build [*losquels firent bâtir*] this Church in the year 1661."⁴

¹ Probably João or Joam with A and M worked into one letter.

² Probably *Mulher*.

³ Probably *elles* with the two l's fused almost imperceptibly into one, as I saw it done at Agra. Asiaticus remarked about this inscription: "In the Chapel of the Convent is a stone rudely cut; two letters are formed in conjunction in many places, such as ST, AN, and VA; this makes it difficult to be understood at the first view, particularly as there is no distinction of syllables. I here make the distinction, and terminate each line where it ends on the stone, but our types do not allow me to give a facsimile."

⁴ Not a little information on João Gomes de Soto and his son Pasqual turns up in *The Diaries of Streynsham Master*, edited by Sir R. C. Temple. (Cl. x. v. *de Soto*.) We find João mentioned there between Dec. 28, 1651 and Dec. 23, 1657. On Dec. 28, 1651, he is said to be a resident "in this Bandel of Shahabad [Shāhābād]," and in the very document in which the phrase occurs (II. p. 60) Shāhābād appears to be Hugli. Sir R. C. Temple understands it so; but, I fail to see how the Bandel of Shāhābād could be called (*ibid.*) the Bandel of Our Lady of Guadalupe, if Shāhābād was Hugli. The Churches of Balasor, Pipili and Bandel (Hugli) were dedicated to Our Lady of the Rosary. (Cl. J. Sicardo, O. S. A., *Christianidad del Japon*, Madrid, 1696, Ch. III, the information about Bengal dating back to about 1680), whereas I believe to have met somewhere that one of 2 Churches at Chittagong and Dianga, near Chittagong, was dedicated to Our Lady

We go back to the piazza before the Church. Looking up the top of the flagstaff elicited several questions from my part, which Philip, the bearer, and Anthony, the sacristan, tried to answer to the best of their knowledge.

The story is that the flagstaff is a mast presented as an ex-voto by a Captain in the lifetime of Frei João da Cruz. If that is so, the offering must have been made before 1638; for João da Cruz must have left Hugli by the end of 1637, if he had not left several years before, since he died at Goa in June or July 1638. I shall not discuss this story nor that of the statue of Our Lady of Happy Voyage over the façade of the Church, for documents may yet be found which would allow us to speak with more knowledge. I shall only ask where Lieut.-Col. D. G. Crawford (*Brief History of the Hugly District*, Calcutta, 1903, p. 11) found that the mast "is said to have been set up in 1655 as a thank-offering for escape from a storm." I cannot find this date anywhere else. Dr. Crawford is alive, and he could tell us. The year 1655 is just 17 years after Frei João da Cruz' death. It is quite possible that the flagstaff be a mast. We know that captains in danger of shipwreck did make vows to Our Lady of Bandel; probably, they make them still now. They made them to Our Lady of Bandel even before 1599, *i.e.*, before the present Augustinian Convent, or rather the original Convent of Bandel, existed; for we read that, when Father Fernandez, S. J., and his companion, Father de Souza, came to Hugli in 1598, after a severe storm in the Bay of Bengal, they vowed to our Lady of "Gullum," *i.e.*, Hugli, the price of the foresail.¹

I learn from the two servants that the upper half of the flagstaff, which is down to-day, is raised on big feastdays and that it is no easy matter to hoist it. Some of the men from the Howrah docks are called over for the purpose. On feastdays it flies a flag, not any flag of course, but that of Our Lady. This reminds me of a good story. In 1784 or 1785, the Governor of Goa asked from the Provincial of the Augustinians whether it was true that the Bandel of Hugli was flying the Portuguese flag and whether the concession of 760 [*sic*] bighás² of land formerly made to the Bandel

of Guadalupe, the other to O. L. of Mercy. In 1666 Chittagong became Islāmābād. However, João Gomes de Soto was at Hugli in 1637, where he had the English factors seized and imprisoned for refusing to pay him about Rs. 6,000, due to him, he contended, by one of their Balasore agents on a consignment of cinnamon sent by himself to Persia in 1632. Between 1675 and 1677 his son Pasqual and his widow were pressing their claims at the Court of the Nawāb of Dacca, and, after much litigation and bribery on their side and the side of the Company's agents, they obtained in March 1677 that the Company should pay them Rs. 1,000.

¹ Cf. *Novæ relatiōe historica de rebus in India Orientali a Patribus Societatis Jesu anno 1598 et 99 gestis*, a R. P. Nicolao Pimenta...missa (Moguntia, 1601), p. 5.

² A bighā contains 30 katthās or 120 feet square, or 1600 square yards, which is near $\frac{1}{4}$ of an English acre.

by the Moghul Emperors could not be claimed as Portuguese property by the Goa authorities. The intention of the Portuguese Government appears to have been to establish a Portuguese colony at Bandel. The query itself showed such ignorance and such complete absence of documentary evidence on the part of the authorities of Goa that one might have suggested from their very ignorance that they could lay no claim whatever to the Bandel of Hugli. Frei Joáo de S. Nicolaó, who had just returned to Goa from Hugli, where he had been Prior for several years, told them that the *sanad* had been granted to the Church, not to the Government. [In fact, the Portuguese Government, as such, never had more than a nominal authority along the Hugli before 1632; it had still less, *quá* Government, after that date.] Frei Joáo de S. Nicolaó also represented that the privileges enjoyed by the Bandel had been granted to the Augustinian Priors of Bandel, one of these privileges empowering them to administer justice in the Bandel, except in cases punishable with death. As for the flag, it was not the Lusitanian flag at all, but that of Our Lady of the Rosary. He could only wonder who had mistaken it for the Portuguese flag and reported accordingly. The English Government would view with little satisfaction, too, any pretensions from Goa on the Bandel, and Mr. Chambers of the Supreme Court had plainly spoken in that sense to one of their Religious who had come as visitor of the Mission in 1784. Bandel and Hugli were so little a Portuguese colony that Frei Joáo de S. Nicolaó had known only one Portuguese there, one Domingos Ramos, who had married there and died there in 1781; another, a married man also, Jose Antonio, had come there lately.¹

We may remark that many of the old Portuguese Churches in India had a mast to hoist a flag from on feastdays. The Church of Tuticorin under the jurisdiction of Mailapur has one which is yet used; an old one now unused stands still near one of the Churches at Mailapur. In a woodcut of the Chittagong Catholic Mission, where, of old, things were very much what they were at the Bandel of Hugli, a beautiful mast with yards and shrouds, just as at Tuticorin, is represented some distance from the Church (*Bengal Catholic Herald*, Calcutta, Nov. 11, 1843, p. 268). Other cases may occur to my readers on the West Coast of India and in Ceylon. The mast at Tuticorin is in two parts as at Bandel. The practice of erecting masts near Churches may have suggested to Van den Broucke, to whom we owe one of our oldest maps of Bengal (1658-64), to represent our Portuguese settlements in Bengal

¹ Cf. J. F. J. Biker, *Collecção de Tratados e concertos de pazes*.....Tomo XII, Lisboa, 1886, pp. 12-25. The letter of Frei Joáo de S. Nicolaó is dated: Convento da Graça de Goa, 28 de Fevereiro de 1785.

by a cross and a flag, the cross indicating a Christian Church, the flag the Portuguese influence.¹

I am told that till 1869, the year of the death of Frei Jose de S. Agostinho Gomes, the last Prior of Bandel, and the last Augustinian in Bengal, the Church had its *chaukidars* or police and the right of administering justice.² This privilege and every other is now gone. The Prior may still act as arbitrator, but any man can do as much. A large portion of the 777 *bighás*, more than two-thirds, had been lost, said Frei João de S. Nicolaó in 1785. According to the *Hoochly Gasetteer* by L. S. S. O'Malley, 1912, p. 267, the Bandel Church property consists now of 380 *bighás*, yielding a rental of Rs. 1,240 per annum.³ The rest was lost through the ignorance or carelessness of past administrators in endless litigations against bold, unscrupulous *amalas* and *gumáshtas*.

¹ Cf. François Valentyn's *Oud en Nieuw Oost Indien*, Amsterdam, 1728, Vol. V., "Beschrijving van Choromandel." There is a copy in the Library of the As. Soc. of Bengal.

² The right of administering justice had disappeared since 1797. In a memorial to Sir John Shore in 1797 the Prior of Bandel laid claim to independent civil and criminal jurisdiction over the *rayats* of the Bandel lands. He based his claim on the practice in use from the time of the grant of the 777 *bighás* of land. This grant was confirmed, he said, in 1645 by a new farmán. He stated further that the farmán granting this land ordained that the inhabitants of Bandel were to remain under the jurisdiction of the Fathers, who were empowered to administer justice in all cases except those of murder. The Bandel lands, he further asserted, were separated from those included in the Sarkár of Sâtganw. He also quoted a letter from William Cowper, dated 17th July 1787, in which the Collector was prohibited from exercising any civil or criminal jurisdiction over the inhabitants of Bandel. The decision of the Government was that no claim could now be admitted, but that there was no objection to the Prior's "continuing to arbitrate and settle the disputes of the Christian inhabitants of Bandel as heretofore, whenever it may be agreeable to the parties to refer to him for the purpose.....The inhabitants of Bandel are subject to the jurisdiction of the Courts equally with other inhabitants of the Company's provinces." (27th September 1797). Cf. G. Toynbee, *Op. cit.*, p. 6. The English Government on that occasion simply overruled, I should think, the immemorial usage and privileges of the Bandel by introducing a distinction between the Christian inhabitants of the Bandel and others. The end of the 17 privileges granted by the Moghul Emperors—the question of date is immaterial here—said: "Que o Padre de Bandel fará toda a justiça dos seus habitantes, excepto no crime de morte, e não exceptua o furto. (That the Padre of Bandel shall exercise all forms of justice over its inhabitants, except in the crime of death, [=murder? crimes punishable with death?], but theft not excepted.)" Frei João de S. Nicolaó wrote in 1785 that only cases punishable with death were investigated and punished by the Faujdár of Hugli. "The English," he adds, "have always maintained the exemptions and privileges granted by the Emperor; and when the Governor of Hooghly, or some other inferior Official offers us any violence, or breaks any of the said privileges, as has happened sometimes, because the Bandel has not the power to resist them, we have always been listened to and have obtained justice, on having recourse to the Ministers of the Court." Cf. J. F. J. Baker, *Collecção de Tratados e concertos de paz*, Tom. XII, Lisboa, 1886, pp. 14, 19, 21.

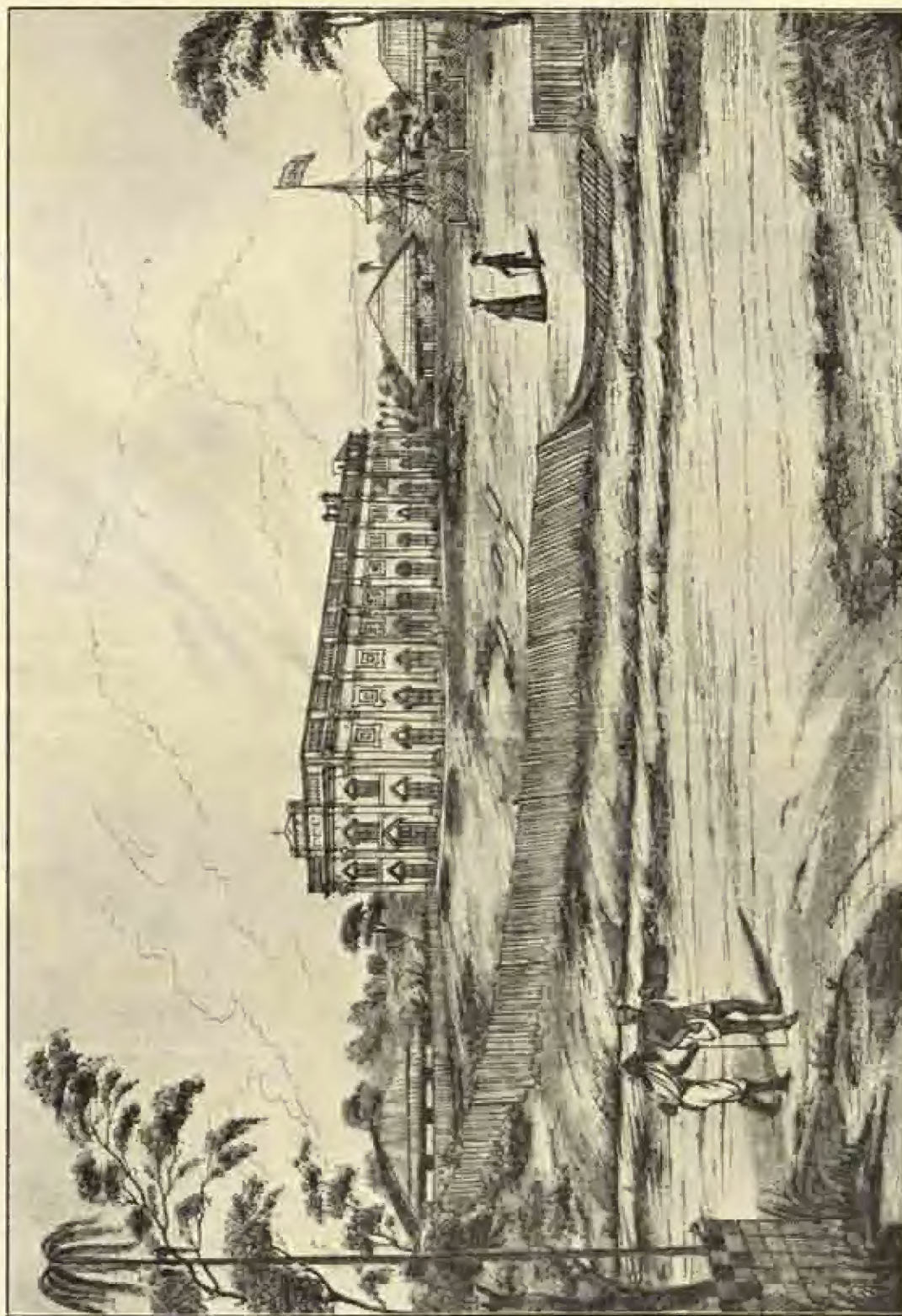
³ This statement already appears in G. Toynbee's *Sketch of the Administration of the Hooghly District from 1795 to 1845*, Calcutta, 1888, p. 5. The preface is signed G. T[oynebe], 30th October, 1888.

Boy's School.

Parochial House.

Church.

Orphanage.



VIEW OF ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH,
CHITTAGONG. 1843.

I am drifting away from the flagstaff. To the East of it, where the outer South wall slants off eastwards, there is a small piece of garden, shut off by a wall from the piazza in front of the Church. An opening in the wall admits me within, and here I make a small discovery. Three or four big stones are lying about. How did they come here? Both banks of the Hugli are notorious for brick-fields, but stone is not a local export. To the great astonishment of Philip and Anthony, I turn up traces of Hindú or Buddhist sculptures. Again, how did these come here? It is quite possible that they antedate the erection of the Convent. Perhaps, a Christian shrine took the place of a Hindú pagoda? One side of the stone shows four niches, which must have contained as many deities, saints, heroes or hobgoblins. Two human figures are still visible: but, who will say whom they represent? All that Philip and Anthony, the local antiquarians, could say was that neither represented *Petuk*, or the belly-god Ganesh, for they had no elephant's trunk for a nose, neither had they Ganesh's protuberant antependix.

We made other discoveries in the empty space reserved for lumber to the N. E. of the sacristy. A big old catafalque had inscriptions on each of its four sides, lugubrious texts, as catafalques should bear. To lose no time in useless questions I copy them.

Breadthwise:—He santo / e louvavel orar / pelos mortos. 2 *Maccab.*
c. 12 v. 46. /

Compadecei / vos de mim / vos que sois meus / amigos. / *Job.* c. 19, v. 21.

Lengthwise:—Bemaventurados / os mortos [que morrem] / no Senhor. /
Apocalypse, c. 14. [v. 13].

Senhor / lembra-te de mim, e não / tomes vincança dos / meus
peccados. / *Tobias*, c. 3, v. 3. /

How old could that catafalque be? When at last I put the question, I hear it had served on the occasion of a funeral service for one of the Kings of Portugal, some 30 (?) years ago. If so, the King in question was Louis I (1861-89). So much the worse for our Portuguese inscriptions, which are quite modern.¹ Close by, a *charola*, or niche for carrying statues, a discarded wooden skeleton for a statue, and a funeral bier.

We went into the garden, N. of the Church, and found in the centre of it a rustic masonry seat, above which in olden times there must have been a bower. Fancy conjured up some of the former inmates of the convent enjoying here the cool evening breeze, but I came back to find myself in unpleasant possession of whatever can stick to cloth, cobwebs and love-thorns by hundreds.

Where could be the stone bearing the date 1599, which, according to the guide-books of the District, would indicate the foundation of the Convent and

¹ I find that in 1865 there was a funeral service at Bandel for Don Fernando, father of Don Luis I of Portugal. Cf. *Indo-European Correspondence*, Calcutta, 1886, p. 62.

Church? Above the East entrance facing the *ghát* on the river, there is a copper plate with the inscription:

† FOUNDED †

1599.

This, of course, is recent, since it is English. The *Hooghly Gazetteer* by L. S. S. O'Malley, 1912, p. 265, states that the original stone was removed in 1908, to the western side where it is to be seen over the gate. As the western gate is generally closed, we go in search of it round the wall enclosing the buildings and find above the gate, facing the public road, a stone with the date 1599. The stone is quite small, not more than a foot square, and probably only 2 inches thick. No one would call that the "key-stone" of a church.¹ After reading about "key-stone," I expected to find nothing less than a foundation-stone.

It was getting dark, but there was light enough to convince me that the figures were modern. They look as straight and bolt upright as the type with which they are here printed: 1599. The wonder is how they have ever been thought to be as old as the date which they commemorate. Anyone accustomed to old inscriptions will bear me out when I say they are modern. If old, the 5 should be more angular, its lower limb as also the lower limb of the 9 should slant rapidly to the left.

Yet we find such statements as these: "The present church and monastery are said to have been built in 1660 by Gomez de Soto, who had the *key-stone* of the old church (with the date 1599 on it), which [key-stone] had been saved from the sack of Hooghly, set up over the eastern (river-side) gate of the monastery." (L. S. S. O'Malley, *Op. cit.*, p. 265). Lieut.-Col. D. G. Crawford, writing in 1903, says: "Over this gate [the eastern one] is a stone, with the date 1599, the date of the foundation of the original church, which was destroyed during the siege of Hughli in 1632. The stone with the date was subsequently found, and was utilized when the new church and monastery were erected by Gomez de Soto, in 1660."²

All this is fancy. Let us look at the facts. It is a long story, even if we try to make it short.

The Portuguese first settled at Hugli under a *farmán* from Fatehpur Sikri between 1578 and 1580. Until that time, they had

¹ The stone was not removed from the eastern to the western gate. No one remembers that it ever was elsewhere than over the western gate, and I know from Fr. Rodriguez that over the eastern gate there was formerly a piece of wood with the date 1599 painted on it and a glass to protect it against the weather. These numbers got obliterated by dampness and Fr. Rodriguez replaced them by the copper plate.

² Cf. *A brief Hist. of the Hughli District*, 1903, p. 10. Both Dr. Crawford and L. S. S. O'Malley are wrong in saying that the stone was over the eastern gate.



EAST SIDE OF THE CONVENT, BANDEL

not been allowed, when coming up the river, to do more than build godowns in bamboo and thatch, which were burnt down regularly every year when they returned to Goa. The two first Missionaries whom we know to have come to Bengal, Fathers Anthony Vaz and Peter Dias, were Jesuits. They arrived in 1576, and Antonio Vaz was still there in 1579. In March 1578, Julian Pereira, a secular (?) priest, went from Sátgão to Akbar's Court at Fatehpur Sikri. The next years are practically a blank until two Jesuits Fathers Francis Fernandes and Dominic Sosa [de Souza?], disembarked at Hugli about May 28, 1598, to be followed the next year by two others, Fathers Andrew Boves and Melchior Fonseca. When Fathers Fernandes and Sosa arrived, there existed a church, if not two, since Fr. Fernandes preached *in summo templo*, i.e., in the biggest church. When they left Hugli on Oct. 1, 1598 for a missionary tour across the Sundarbans, from Chandecan to Chittagong, and its district, the Vicar of Hugli, a secular priest apparently, took charge of the hospital and school which they had established. There is also evidence from the letters of the four Jesuits just mentioned that Priests had visited the Portuguese settlements along the Meghna some years before their arrival. The claims of the Augustinians to have been the first Missionaries in Bengal are therefore preposterous. They had come to India only in 1572 and their first batch of five Missionaries reached Hugli only in 1599. On Aug. 15, 1599, they laid the first stone of their Church of Our Lady of the Rosary, their Convent being dedicated to St. Nicholas of Tolentino. The next year, seven more Augustinians were sent to Bengal. Until 1617, when the Jesuits laid the first stone of a Church at Hugli, Hugli had been ministered to by the Augustinians and the secular clergy. The Jesuit Church and residence were built too close to the river; in 1620, both had to be reconstructed further away.

Now, all these Churches and houses were destroyed in 1632, at the sack of Hugli by the Muhammadans. The siege began on June 24, when a fleet from Dacca reached a place on the river some 10 or 12 leagues below Hugli. Two days later, an army 150,000 strong appeared within a league from the town, to the North. The town had neither walls nor artillery. To that enormous host it could oppose only 300 whites and some 600 or 700 native Christians. On July 2, the Church *da Misericórdia* and the northern suburbs were in the hands of the enemy. The same day, a hermit (of St. Augustine) changed the tower of his hermitage into a citadel and during the attack which followed the enemy left the compound of the chapel strewn with their corpses. After that, they "were so close to us [to the Portuguese trenches]," says Father John Cabral, S. J., an eye-witness of the events, "that, night after night, we could talk with them." By and by, the Portuguese were obliged to give up Ball and retire to Hugli, because they could not defend

both places. While withdrawing, they themselves set "fire to many houses which could not be defended, among others to the monastery of St. Augustine, which was quite burnt down. We, too, left our College, which was on that side. The Moors came at once and made themselves masters of Bali. They finished the work of destruction, sparing only the College and a few houses, in which the officers took up their abode." This took place before July 31. After a desperate resistance of 3 months, the Portuguese embarked during the night of September 24, and the flight down the river began on September 25, "a Saturday".¹ The enemy spent the day in burning and pillaging the town, and the next day went in pursuit of the fugitives. The flight proved disastrous. Nearly all the ships perished on the river. Father Ignatius Fialho, S. J., was killed on September 26. Two days later, the patache of Pedro de Coutto blew up and the chest of the *Casa da Misericórdia* with 80,000 tangas, and 300,000 tangas of private property, went down with her. Brother John Rodriguez, S. J., perished on that occasion. At the height of the narrow passage of Betor, where the enemy lay in wait, the patache of Luis de Maya got entangled in a cable stretched across the river and was taken. The Jesuit Rector, Fr. Antonio Rodriguez, who had had two fingers carried off by a cannon-ball, was made a prisoner. The Moors found on board the corpses of three Jesuits, Fathers Pedro Gomes, Benedict Rodrigues, and Gaspar Ferreira, which had been taken incorrupt out of their graves and put on board Luis de Maya's patache. Overcome with astonishment and respect, the Moors deposited them again in the Jesuit Church from which they had been removed. When at last the few ships that escaped reached Saugor Island, it was found that nearly 3,000 souls, of whom only 200 Portuguese (whites?), had saved themselves. Father John Cabral with 3 other Jesuits, Fathers Manoel Coelho, Manoel Secco and Luis Orlandini, were among them; but, counting up the losses, Fr. Cabral considered as lost 4 Augustinians, 6 or 7 secular Priests, and 3 Jesuits (two killed and one a prisoner). The survivors entrenched themselves among the ruined pagodas of Saugor Island; but, during an embassy undertaken by Father Cabral to Arakan, a plague broke out, and on his return he found that his three confrères had died, while the people had dispersed throughout Hijjili, Banja and other places.

Some of the Augustinians and of the secular Priests can be accounted for. One of them, Frei Gregorio dos Anjos was killed on the river, as also Adrian Dias, the Chaplain of the Church *da Misericórdia*. Frei Antonio de Christo, Frei Francesco da Incarnação and two secular Priests, Manoel Garcia and Manoel d' Anhaya, were carried off to Agra, where they

¹ September 25, 1632 was indeed a Saturday.

arrived in July 1633 with some 4,000 Christian prisoners. About one of the secular Priests we know that the Bishop of Mailapur had sent him as Visitor to Hugli in 1632. During the siege of Hugli, Frei Bernardo de Jesus was beaten to death at Dacca. As for Frei Joao da Cruz' history, it must be considered separately.¹

The Portuguese settlement of Hugli never recovered from its destruction in 1632. The Hermitage and Chapel, as also the Convent and Church of the Augustinians had been destroyed or burnt down; the Church *da Misericordia* must have been destroyed, and the Jesuits had lost their Church and their College, both devastated and ruined. All these establishments were North of, or near, Bali.²

The local name for the present site of the Bandel Church and much of the land North-West of it is Balaghar (Balagarh? strong Fort?), while Bali designates a division of Hugli which begins at the stone bridge over the ditch S. W. near the Convent, and I am told that it does not stretch quite up to the Imámbára.

Even if we suppose that [the application of the term Bali has not changed since 1632, for local terms are apt in the course of time to shift, limit or extend their application, I do not think that Father Cabral must be understood as placing the Jesuit College and Church in Bali itself. He says only that, after the Church *da Misericordia* and the suburbs were taken, Bali was also occupied by the enemy, and it was then that the Jesuit College was abandoned and that the Augustinian Convent was burned.

I am strongly inclined to think that, when the Jesuits and the Augustinians obtained the permission to rebuild their Churches, they insisted on getting back the site of their former establishments. It would have saved the expense of buying new ground, and would have made it possible to utilise the foundations and old materials of the earlier buildings; moreover, the sanctity attaching to the spot where their Church had stood and

¹ Most of our authorities for the above statements are indicated by the Rev. H. Jossen, S. J., in his *Histoire de la Mission du Bengale. Cf. Missions Belges, Bruxelles, 1913, Aug., Sept., Oct.*

² The *summuu templum* or biggest Church of 1598 stood probably in what we now call Hugli proper, considering that in 1632 it contained a large Christian agglomeration; the smaller Church of 1598 would then have been the Church *da Misericordia*, north of the present Bandel. Both must have been administered by the secular clergy. Manrique remarks that, when in 1632 the Christians fell back in a body (from Bali?), all the women and children found shelter in the greater Church (*Iglesia mayor*). This might have been a Church in Hugli proper. We cannot accept that it was a military chapel, since there was no fort. This Church was, probably, the edifice "loftier and stronger than all the other buildings," which the Muhammadans mined and blew up on the 14th Rabi'ul-awwal (cf. *Badriddin*, Elliot, VII. 34). Father Cabral makes no allusion to a Church in Hugli proper, and it may be considered certain that no Church was erected on that side after 1632.

where many of the faithful and of the Missionaries must have been buried made it desirable that they should return to the same place. In the sequel of the Bandel's history we find no longer any mention of the Casa and Church *da Misericordia* nor of the Augustinian Hermitage, North of Bali, nor does local tradition point to any Jesuit or Augustinian ruins in what is now called Bali. The Jesuit College and Church were rebuilt later in a garden at Balaghar, near Keota, which still goes by the name of the *São Paulo* garden, or the garden of the Paulists, the popular name for Jesuits. I take it that this garden indicates the site of the Jesuit Church of 1620, and that, in the same way, the present Augustinian Convent replaced the earlier one of 1599.

The question is when were these two Churches rebuilt.

To begin with the Jesuits. In 1640, through the intervention of Fr. Joseph de Castro, S. J., then at Lahore, they obtained the restoration of their property at Hugli, but it would seem that Father Rodrigues, the former Rector, had already rebuilt provisionally a house and Church.¹ In 1663, Manucci visited Hugli, and the Jesuit Fathers "said to me that they had a tiny Church, and that only built of straw. They desired to construct one of stone [bricks], but the Governor objected, although they were ready to pay him five thousand rupees." Manucci interviewed the Moorish Governor in their behalf and ascribes to his influence the immediate granting of the request.² Manucci calls the Governor Mirzagol, while the *Dagh Register* of Batavia for 1663, p. 663, under date of December 13, 1663, calls him 'Mier Maneth Saryff' (Mir Muhammad Sharif). The *Batavia Dag Register* for 1664, p. 594, speaks of a new Governor 'Seyt Sjellael' (Sayyid Jalal), to whom the Portuguese were forced to pay Rs. 1,000, because they had built a

¹ Cf. H. Jussan, S. J., in *Missions Belges*, 1913, p. 368. Among the refugees on Saugor Island there was a lady, Eleonora Alvaras, who, on October 21st 1632, wished to make her testament. Father Orlandini acted as her secretary. She left 200 tangas to the Jesuits of Bengal, several sums to other good works, and the surplus to the Rector of Hugli as a first instalment for a College in Bengal or in the Jesuit Province of Malabar. Fr. Rodrigues had perhaps drawn on that money to repair the damages of the siege. Cf. (*ibid.*). Later, in 1688, we hear that Don Nicholas de Payra left a sum of 20,000 xerafas for the maintenance of 3 Jesuit Fathers at Hugli (J. A. S. B., 1911, pp. 27, 29). In January 1675-76, Nicola a Paiva farmed the customs of the Nawab of Dacca. (Cf. Sir R. Temple, *Streytsham Master*, II. 51). He was a great friend of the Jesuits, who call him a Chevalier of the Order of Christ and Captain General of the Portuguese in Bengal. His residence was at Norikol (or Lorikol), on the Dacca side. In 1785 he was a septuagenarian. Doubtless, he is the Signor Nicolo Pareres [sic], a "Portugall Merchant," who assured William Hedges (Dec. 17, 1684) that "their whole community had wrote ye Vice King of Goa, and besought him earnestly to send them 2 or 3 Frigates, with aid and assistance of soldiers, to possess themselves of ye Islands of Kogeria and Jagelloe [Khijiri and Hijjili, at the mouth of the Hugli], for which purpose they had sent him draughts and large descriptions of ye said Islands." Cf. Col. H. Yale, *Diary of W. Hedges*, I. 172.

² Cf. Manucci (by W. Irvine), *Storia de Mogor*, II. 90.

church without leave. This church must have been the Jesuit Church, and Manucci would not have been very successful after all.¹ Three years later, Bernier could write: "The Jesuits and Augustins who have large churches and are permitted the free and unmolested exercise of their religion assured me that Ogouli alone contains from eight to nine thousand Christians, and that in other parts of the kingdom their number exceeded five and twenty thousand."² In 1709 we hear of the Jesuit House and their "fine Church."³

The return of the Augustinians to Hugli must have been no easy matter. John Poule, writing from "Harrapoore" (?Hariharapur, Orissa) to Mr. Cartwright at Balasore, about the chances of the English establishing trade in Bengal, said (July 17, 1633): "Those Portingalls whilome expelled from Hygly hath found greate favour with Shawgahan [Sháh Jahán] and reentered that place to the number of 20 persons hows Cavidall [whose Capital?] for their commensing A new investment is the third part of there goods formerly cessed [seized?] on which with Large priveleges and *tashrafees* [complimentary presents] with honor the kinge hath bestowed on them so that our exspectation [of] Hugly is frustrayte and I feare likewise Pippely [Pipli] will [not?] be obtained beeing A convenient Randyvoes of the[irs?] wherefor some parsones have Latly complained to this Nabob of our seeking to put them from that porte; have answered we entended no svch mater but only for Bollasary [Balasore] or Harssapoore [Harsapur or Harishpur, the modern Harishpur Garh], so with great *delassa* [consolation, Hind. *dilásá*] they were dismissed."⁴

It is difficult to understand how some of the Portuguese left about Pipli, Hijjili and Banja, could have obtained from Sháh Jahán, by July 1633, the permission to return to Hugli. Sháh Jahán was at Agra and the reception he gave to the 4,000 Christian prisoners from Hugli, on their arrival in July 1633, shows that he was in no mood to humour the Christians. He wrote to the King of Balkh asking him to rejoice with him over the total extirpation of that nest of brigands, the Portuguese of Hugli. A persecution against the Christians at Agra had been set on foot at the end of 1632, and the arrival of the Christians of Bengal made it a great deal worse. It lasted till December 1635, after which it wore off gradually. From 1633 to the end of 1635 the Jesuits of Agra could obtain nothing from Sháh Jahán, even through 'Asaf Khán, his father-in-law and their great protector.

Yet, John Poule's statement does not stand alone. On the strength of a memorial in the archives of the Bandel Convent, Frei Luis de S. Rita, the

¹ *Ibid.*, IV, 409.

² Bernier (Constable's Edn., 1891), p. 439.

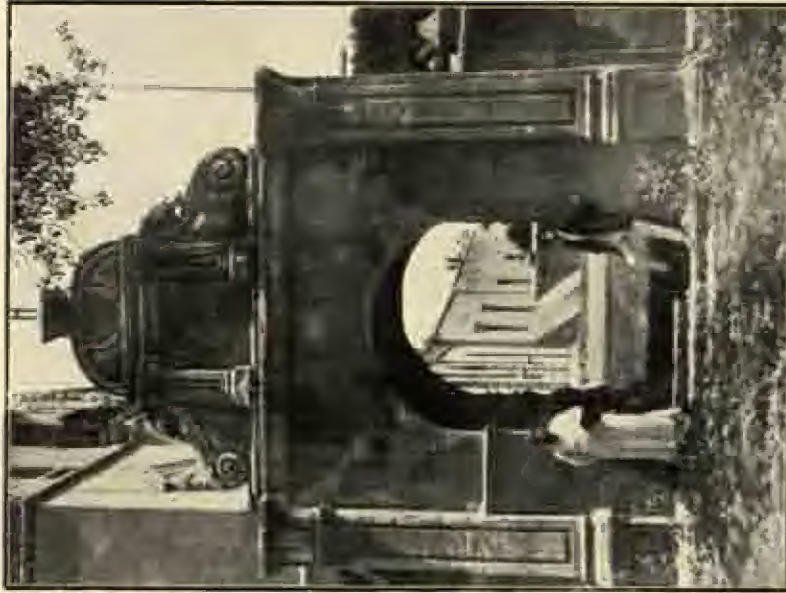
³ Cf. Abbate Ripa in Bengal: *Past & Present*, Vol. VIII, 1914, p. 173.

⁴ Col. Henry Yule, *Diary of W. Hedges*, III. clxxvii.

Prior assures us (September 14, 1826) that the original farmán, which granted to the Fathers and Christians of the Bandel of Hugli 777 bigbás of land and their 17 privileges was given them in 1633 by the Emperor "Sajan Mahameo Sujakam." The original, he adds, was destroyed by the Muhammadans during the troubles of 1756 and no authentic copy of it had been preserved at the Convent.¹

It is scarcely possible that both Poule and the Bandel memorial should be wrong about the fact and the date of the return of some of the Christians. Still, we cannot but express our misgivings about the name of the Emperor. "Sajan" seems indeed to stand for "Sháh Jahán", but his full surname was Shahab-ud-din Muhammad Sahib Qiran Sani. The addition "Sujakam" to his name is inexplicable to me except as a bad mistake on the part of the author of the memorial, who wrote after 1756, when the original was lost, or on the part of Frei Luis de S. Rita, misreading the memorial. The former, remembering that the events had occurred in Sháh Jahán's time and remembering too that the original contained the name of Muhammad and finished in Khán, may have come to the strange concoction "Sajan Mahameo Sujakam." What would account for Sujá is that there was a second farmán of 1646, which, says the author of the memorial, was granted as a confirmation of the first by Emperor Sasoja or Sasuja (Sháh Sujá). Now Sháh Sujá never was Emperor. He was Governor of Bengal from 1639 to 1660 whilst Sháh Jahán reigned from 1627 to 1658. Either the anonymous Prior borrowed Sujá's name from the second farman and ended off with "Kam" for Khán, or rather, the very ending "Kam" would show that *Luis de S. Rita* was responsible for reading into the memorial from the second farmán the name Sujá instead of 'Azim which, I think, the anonymous Prior had written; for, since I consider it altogether impossible that the Portuguese should have obtained the first farmán from Sháh Jahán himself before July 1633, I surmise that they had received it from Mir Muhammad 'Azim Khán, Governor of Bengal (1632-39). A big bribe may have worked the miracle of 'Azim Khán's making this concession on the sly to a few Portuguese families. The concession of 777 bigbás in 1633 was probably only a confirmation of part or the whole of the concession made by Akbar to Tavares before 1580. If it was not a confirmation of that earlier grant made to the future community of Hugli, how is it that the grant of land of 1633, which from that date seems to have been vested in the Priors of Bandel, did not allow them to exact rent from the Christians settled on the concession, but only from non-Christians? We may be very wrong in some of our suggestions, but matters must be explained, and we find nothing better. Indian history, or even the history of their own Convent, does not seem to have ever been a strong point with the Priors of Hugli.

¹ Cf. App.



WEST GATE THE CONVENT, BANDEL.
With the Date 1599.



CONSTANTIA
Wife of CHARLES WESTON
From a Miniature preserved
at St John's Church Calcutta

at any rate it was not the *forte* of Prior João de S. Nicolaô in his review of the history of Bandel written in 1785. He is the first whom we find to have stated that the concession was made to Frei João da Cruz under circumstances celebrated by a legend. Even if Frei João da Cruz was instrumental in obtaining the *farman* and the 17 privileges of 1633, it could not have been in the way tradition tells.

Tradition—if such it can be called—says that Frei João was taken to Agra with the captives from Hugli, that he was to be trampled to death by a wild elephant in the presence of Shâh Jahân and his Court, but was miraculously saved; whereupon, the Emperor granted him the liberty of all the Christians and 777 bighâs of land. The legend unfortunately places the story of the elephant before it could actually have occurred, since, if we combine the Bandel memorial with the statement of John Poule, the grant of land and the 17 privileges were obtained before July 1633, whereas the Christian prisoners from Hugli did not reach Agra till July 1633. What is worse is that Frei João da Cruz did not go to Agra on that occasion or any other we know of, and that the Emperor did *not* grant their liberty to the Christians brought from Hugli. I have repeated this story till I am almost tired of repeating it. See in particular my article on Frei João da Cruz in *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. VII (N. S.) No. 3, 1911, pp. 53-56. The fate of the pioneer in Catholic archæology is that he is not read; he must repeat the same things over and over again until even the most torpid minds awaken to the necessity of comparing historical facts with imaginary ones, real dates with spurious dates. Tradition has hopelessly muddled up with Frei João da Cruz' name the recovery of the statue of Our Lady of Happy Voyage, and the story of the flagstaff, of the grant of 777 bighâs and of what happened at Agra, but on a milder scale, to his two confrères and the two secular Priests. Manrique, the Augustinian, who tells us the story of Frei João da Cruz, had known him at Hugli in 1628; during his stay in Arakan between 1630 and 1635 Manrique was mixed up with the causes of the fall of Hugli; he visited Bengal in 1635-36, and again in 1640, when the facts were quite fresh; he interviewed in his prison at Agra Frei Antonio de Christo, saw the Jesuits of Agra and Lahore, had ample opportunities of meeting many of the laity carried off to Agra, and yet he knows none of the wonderful incidents related by the legend about Friar João. Instead he tells us some remarkable facts about which the legend knows nothing. What does it prove? That the legend is a much later fabrication.

Frei João da Cruz, while escaping from the capture of Hugli with two Christian Topazes, was pursued, severely cut across the shoulders with a scimitar, and left for dead. The two Topazes, finding him in this sorry plight, picked him up, and carried him to a stable in a neighbouring Hindû

village, whence a Hindû merchant, a friend of his, removed him to his house the next night. The wound began to fester till worms set in. Happily, a Topaz, who knew something about surgery, passed through that village. He removed part of the flesh, and by means of coconut-oil and applications of tamarind succeeded in healing the wound. "After that he lived some years till Our Lord brought him back at last to the Convent of Goa," where he died (*Manrique*). His menology, which is based on ancient documents, among others a *Life* of the Friar by Frei Lourenço da Graça, seems to assign to his stay at Goa the larger part of the period 1633-1638. It says: "He bore for Christ mighty labours and wounds, for on June 24th, 1632, during the siege of Ugolim [Hugli], the Moors wounded him in the back with a keen-edged scimitar, and only by a miracle was he saved from death. Recalled at last to Goa, he lived there in high sanctity, until he happily ended his life in 1638, on a Friday of June or July, as is variously related in our Indian histories."¹ He had come to India in 1586, had made his profession in 1588, and had, according to *Manrique*, come to Bengal with the first batch of Augustinians (in 1599, therefore). Accordingly, if we suppose that he entered Religion at the age of 15, he was at least 60 years old at the capture of Hugli, and 65 at the time of his death.

If Frei João da Cruz had been the chief hero in the wonderful events which legend has grouped around his name, how is it that the Jesuit letters from Agra say nothing about him, and that *Manrique* says hardly more about him for the period 1633-38 than what we have related; how is it that in the large collections of letters of the English and Dutch factors, or in the accounts of travellers, we do not find the slightest allusion to the scene of the rescue alleged to have occurred at Agra; chiefly how is it that the writer of his menology, who intended the private edification of his brethren in religion, should not have picked out the most marvellous parts of his history? The reason must be that he did not find them in the Augustinian histories or that he found them contradicted or self-contradicting. The earliest version of the legend that I have come across is by Frei João de S. Nicolaô (1785). It contradicts itself. The later embellishments are much worse.

So much for Frei João da Cruz and his connection with the grant of 777 bighás. If the Portuguese were allowed to return to Hugli in 1633, it is quite likely that some of the Augustinians in Bengal went to settle among them; but it is strange that between 1633 and 1640 we hear nothing about any Augustinian Convent at Hugli. *Manrique* returned from Arakan to Bengal at the end of 1635; he devotes 28 pages to his travels about Hijjili, Banja, Tamluk and Pipili, and, though he speaks of Portuguese merchants settled again

¹ Cf. *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. VII (N. S.), 1911, pp. 53-56.

at Hugli, there is no mention of any Augustinians or of an Augustinian Convent there. Neither does he speak of a Convent at Hugli in the account of his travels (August to *ante* Dec. 1640) from "Arcepur" in Orissa to Dacca. He passed through Burdwán and Kásimbázár, but did not go out of his way to revisit the scenes of his former labours. Why? At Agra he found still in jail Frei Antonio de Christo from whom he learned many of the details of the capture of Hugli and of the sufferings of the prisoners at Agra. The two secular Priests, Manoel d' Anhaya and Manoel Garcia had died in prison from the rigours of their captivity; the former on August 2, 1633, the latter on March 23, 1634, as we know from the inscriptions on their tombs at Agra. Francisco da Incarnaçáo had been allowed to go to Goa to treat about the ransom of his companion and of some of the surviving Christian prisoners. No arrangement had yet been reached in 1640. On one occasion, the Priests were led through the streets of Agra to the public square where they were to be crushed to death by elephants before the whole Court; but, on the wise representations of Asaf Khán, who whispered into Sháh Jahán's ear the name of the Viceroy of Goa and other grave words of warning, they were let off. Manrique tells the story very graphically, as is his wont. If it is true, as he relates, that the four Priests participated in the scene, the fact must have occurred before August 2, 1633. If so, how could Frei Joáo da Cruz have been there? About May 1641, Frei Manrique, through the intervention of of Father Joseph de Castro, S. J., and the influence of 'Asaf Khán, both then at Lahore, obtained the release of Frei Antonio de Christo, who must have returned to these parts, since we find him at Masulipatam on September 21, 1646.¹

We learn from Asiaticus, unsafe author though he be, that the Augustinian Convent of Hugli was pulled down in 1640 and rebuilt by John Gomes de Soto. No one can say how he obtained the date 1640, except perhaps from the Prior of Bandel, who favoured him with other information. Assuming the date to be correct and remembering that the Convent and the Church had been burned to the ground in 1632, we should conclude that what remained of the ruins of the Convent was pulled down in 1640 to give way to the new edifice. In that case the inscription of John Gomes de Soto's tomb did not commemorate the rebuilding of the Convent and Church in 1661, but the construction of a family vault in that year.

The Rev. J. Long appears to have been the first to argue from the inscription on the tomb of John Gomes de Soto that the Church was rebuilt in 1660(1712). In spite of the inscription which he knew, Asiaticus gave the date 1640.

¹ Cf. Bartolomeo Ferro, *Historia delle Missioni de' Chierici Regolari Teatini*, Roma, 1704, Tom II, p. 126, Col. 2.

Other considerations make us look upon this date as correct, at least approximately.

Frei João de S. Nicoláo speaks in 1785 of "the Convent which we have had in it [in the Bandel of Hugli] these one hundred thirty and odd years." If he refers to the reconstruction of the Convent in 1640, 130 and odd years, say 135, subtracted from 1785 would bring us down to 1650, only ten years short of Asiaticus' date.

Bowrey writes in *Countries round the Bay of Bengal* (1669-1679), pp. 194-195: "The Moors doe take all advantages to Screw moneys out of them [the Portuguese], as for instance, Anno Domini 1676, the Portugueses haveinge collected a good Summ of moneys to the End they might build a very large and decent Church, they now make preparation to begin the work. Haveinge provided Stone, brick, lime, timber, they pull downe the Old one, and begin the new foundation, but ere one-fourth finished the Moors, by Order of theire Governour stopped the worke, commandinge the workmen Upon paine of imprisonment not to proceede, to the great grief of the Fathers, and alias. The Mahometans did it not for Religions sake, but for locre of moneys, for 1,000 pound Sterlinge will admitt of 2 or 3 churches in most places in the Kingdom or Empire.

"I judge, and am well Satisfied in it, that there are noe lesse than 20,000 Frangues of all Sorts in the Kingdom of Bengala, and above $\frac{1}{2}$ of them inhabit near Hugly River."¹

Why this new Church and where was it built? I consider that it was no other than the Augustinian Church of Bandel which between 1640 and 1676 would have become too small; for, though at first the Bandel failed to attract its former inhabitants, the arrival of the English and the Dutch brought back trade, and many of the Portuguese of Hijjili, Banja, Tamruk, and Pipli, nay Malacca, Ceylon and Cochin, places taken by the Dutch, must have settled at Hugli, more even than at Bandel. Now, the new Church was not built at what we call Hugli proper, nor at Chinsura. Not at Hugli proper. It would have been close to the Bandel Church, and there is nowhere any later allusion to a Catholic Church having stood at Hugli proper after 1632. Not at Chinsura: for the Chinsura Church is dated 1740, and, as it is quite small, it is inconceivable how a small Church there should have been replaced in 1676 by a bigger one, replaced itself by a small one in 1740. Besides, Asiaticus says the Chinsura Church of 1740 was preceded by one of mats

¹ Sir R. C. Temple notes that he was unable to find any confirmation of this story in either printed or MS. records of the period available. L. S. S. O'Malley understands the passage to refer to Hugli, and so do I. In 1674 Bowrey was at Balasore; in 1675 at Junkceylon; in 1676 he took the Santa Cruz from Hugli to Fort St. George; in 1677 he was again at Junkceylon. Cf. *op. cit.*, p. xxvi.

and straw. The Church of 1676 was not a Church *da Misericordia* rebuilt North of the Bandel Church, both because, as the population did not settle again in that direction, there would have been no use for it in close proximity to the Jesuit and Augustinian Churches, and chiefly because we find no allusion to a reconstruction of the Church *da Misericordia* after 1632. Supposing that it was reconstructed after 1632 and was replaced by a larger one in 1676, it would have stood many years and it would have been mentioned after 1676, which is not the case. If the foundations of the Church *da Misericordia* were still visible in 1803, as Asiaticus seems to imply, they were the ruins of the Church of 1632. Only one explanation remains. Since the Jesuits had been allowed to rebuild their Church in 1663, and had apparently completed it in 1664, we must conclude that the Augustinian Church rebuilt by de Soto in 1640 was pulled down and replaced in 1676 by the present one, one with a nave and two aisles, as the Bandel Church is described in 1709 by Abbate Ripa.

After what we have said, it is very improbable in itself that the stone with the date 1599 is the "key-stone" of the original Church of 1599, found back by de Soto in 1640 (or 1660!) and placed by him over the "eastern" entrance of the monastery. It would have been more in the fitness of things if the stone had been placed over the Church of 1640 or the later one of 1676, or over the western gate, the chief gate; for, until St. Augustine's Hall was built by Barretto about 1822 for the accommodation of the pilgrims, the eastern gate was like the back-door of the monastery. It was chiefly used by those who landed at the ghât in front of it.

There is no evidence that the stone ever was elsewhere than over the western gate. How long has it been there? If Joaô de S. Nicolao, when saying that the Convent was 130 and odd (say 135) years old in 1785, referred to the original Convent of 1599, his calculation would fall short by 51 years, and it would prove that he, the Prior, had never seen the stone above the gate, or that, having seen the stone, he does not date the present convent back to 1599, but to a later time. Either alternative is unlikely. It is more probable that the stone was put up after Joaô de S. Nicolao's time.

Asiaticus, who visited the place, does not mention this stone in 1803. Now, when we remember that it was his hobby to copy the inscriptions in Churches and church-yards, and that he notices the inscriptions marking the foundation of other Churches, his silence must be taken as very significant.¹

Strongest of all, in my opinion, is the epigraphical evidence.

¹ I find no allusion to the stone earlier than Lieut.-Col. Crawford's in his *Brief History of the Hugli District* (1903), p. 10.

The conclusion is that the stone was put up at a very late date to commemorate the arrival of the Augustinians in Bengal and the foundation of their first Church. It was at the request of Asiaticus that the Prior of 1803 looked for the date of this first foundation, since the Prior made up for him from "ancient papers and the Life of the Reverend Fré John da Cruz" a list of the Augustinian Convents in the East with the year of their foundation. The date 1599 for Bandel is there, and we hazard the supposition that the stone was put up at Asiaticus' suggestion, or that the Prior, seeing the interest which scholars began to take in such matters, put up the stone of his own accord, a popular answer to the oft-repeated question of the pilgrims: "How old is all this?"

6.30 P.M.—The Rev. Fr. Prior came home. One of my first questions was about the stone with the Hindú or Buddhist sculptures. He said the stones had been dug up in the grounds of the Convent close to the sacristy, and he had had them put as curiosities where they now lie. He too had made the reflection that stone is not a Bandel export. Even if you dig 24 ft., he said, as he had done when he laid down the end of the lightning conductor of the belfry, you meet only with sand, and it is so little steady that he was afraid of digging deeper, even though no water was found, because the walls of the pit were falling in. That explains why, although hundreds, say thousands of people have been buried in the Church, the Church is not vaulted beneath.

My next question was about the bells. "How many of them?"—"Three."—"Any inscriptions on them?"—"I think yes."—"Can I get close?"—"Not without a ladder, and even then it will be troublesome."—"Very well, we shall see to-morrow."

My next move was to carry 5 volumes of Church Registers to my room in the N.E. corner of St. Augustine's Hall. I am getting strong in orientation. Some day people must know what these volumes contain.

MONDAY, January, 5.—I am sole master of all I survey. Father Rodrigues, suddenly called to Calcutta by telegram yesterday evening, went off by an early train this morning to see a sick person in the hospital. His only instructions to me were to consider myself quite at home.

Before starting on serious business, I must give an idea of the splendid view which I am to enjoy from my room the whole of this week. It was very kind of Fr. Rodrigues to have given me this room, the nicest in the Convent. From North to South, as far as the eye can reach both ways, lies the river. To the South, close to the Bridge, you see part of the Imámbára, an imposing two-storied building with two turrets, and other turrets partly overtopping the trees. Near it, from bank to bank, supported only by two piers close to each other in midstream, stretches the triple cantilever span of the Jubilee Bridge, a railway bridge, which rattles and thunders many times a day

under the ponderous rolling engines. On the East bank, South of the Bridge, the Govipur Jute and Linseed-oil Mills, famous in these parts. Closer, near that high chimney puffing up volumes of smoke, the colour-washed buildings of the Naihati Jute Mills. Further up, other mills. One of them kept grinding her machines till late at night, yesterday, the Lord's day. To and fro, on the placid waters, frail Indian boats heavily laden with straw pass, rowing upstream or speeding down under the strain of their bulging canvas. Only occasionally does a steamer's siren disturb the silence. These steamers are of the lightest kind, for only such does the river now admit. I say now. It was not always so. There was a time, nearly four centuries ago, since 1617 will be the 4th centenary of the arrival of the Portuguese who first drank Ganges water, when heavy pataches, carracks and galleons went up as high as Sâtganw. From 1580, Hugli became their furthest landing place, the western emporium of Bengal. Hugli too has become inaccessible to the heavier craft, and not Hugli only, but Chinsura, Chandernagar and Serampur. After all, the Hugli River has been merciful to us. She might have been much naughtier. Within historic times she has not, as far as I am aware, burst her banks and swept the country. The Braces at her mouth are still where and what they were four centuries ago. Ships go in and out as of yore, and our pilots, cleverer than those of old, have fewer accidents to their account. Yet, it is not imprudent to say that the river is a dangerous child to trust. She is continually shifting her bed. Some 300 feet from my room, close to the bank, a long island was formed within the last 8 years, and a new one was thrown up last year, there to the North. Now she is eating away her eastern bank and throwing up the sand this side. To-morrow it may be the reverse. The present ghât of the Convent, which once the water licked, is now—we measured it—290 ft. away from the edge of the river. Yet, Mr. J. Simeon of Serampur told me he remembers the time when he came up in a budgerow to the steps of the ghât. It was in 1856 or 1857. Here is the danger. How many fair cities have sprung up on this side and are gone! What if the Braces got blocked or the river silted up below Calcutta or chose another course? There would be an end of our proud Metropolis. Calcutta would be doomed, and all her present tinsel, all her boasted beauty and wealth, even her very site would be blotted out. Vain fancies these? Ask our Port Commissioners what expense, what titanic efforts it entails to keep the channel clear. While the sky is serene and the clouds far away, let someone at least chronicle what *is* in view of the day when it will have been.

Enough. We began by having a better look at the stone with the date 1599. What did I say? I cannot change my opinion. It is modern. Above it, there is a square space and, still higher, an oval space, both likely places for inscriptions buried under plaster. The *mâlf* brought a ladder, and scaled

the wall with Philip; then the two of them pulled the ladder up to the top of the wall and rested it against the cornice of the gate. With some danger to himself, Philip got on the ledge of the wall and dug a table-knife right into the centre of the suspicious-looking places. "Don't be afraid. Poke hard."—"I poke hard, Sâhib. Nothing! Only sand."—"Go deeper."—"Sand, Sâhib."—"That will do. Come down."

What now? To the bells! Up the steps of the tower, across the organ-loft, up the steps again, up to the fourth story, we dragged our ladder, unwieldy thing, Philip, the mâlî and myself, and, oh! there was a fifth story, and no staircase, and our ladder was too short by many rungs. "Sâhib, what did I tell you?" asked Philip radiant. "Never mind," I said. "Mâlî, get two bamboos, tie them tight to the ladder, add some rungs and, when you have managed to clamber up there, let us know." He shook his head, meaning that he would succeed.

We went to explore the Church and the sacristy with their mysteries. I want to find out what traces may be left of the Augustinian occupation.

In the sacristy, I notice above the altar a wooden statue of St. Augustine, of ancient make, perhaps of local origin. Only one chalice has an inscription, a silver chalice with at the foot: "Presented/By / J. W. Swaris, / 1908."

In the anteroom to the sacristy stands a massive wooden tabernacle. On the door of it a finely chiselled Good Shepherd holds a sheep which rests across His shoulders. This tabernacle, a safe, was made in Germany and was used before the present marble altar replaced a wooden one. A still earlier wooden tabernacle, in the style of the wooden altar now gone, stands outside near the sacristy. A new marble tabernacle has been ordered and is now under construction.

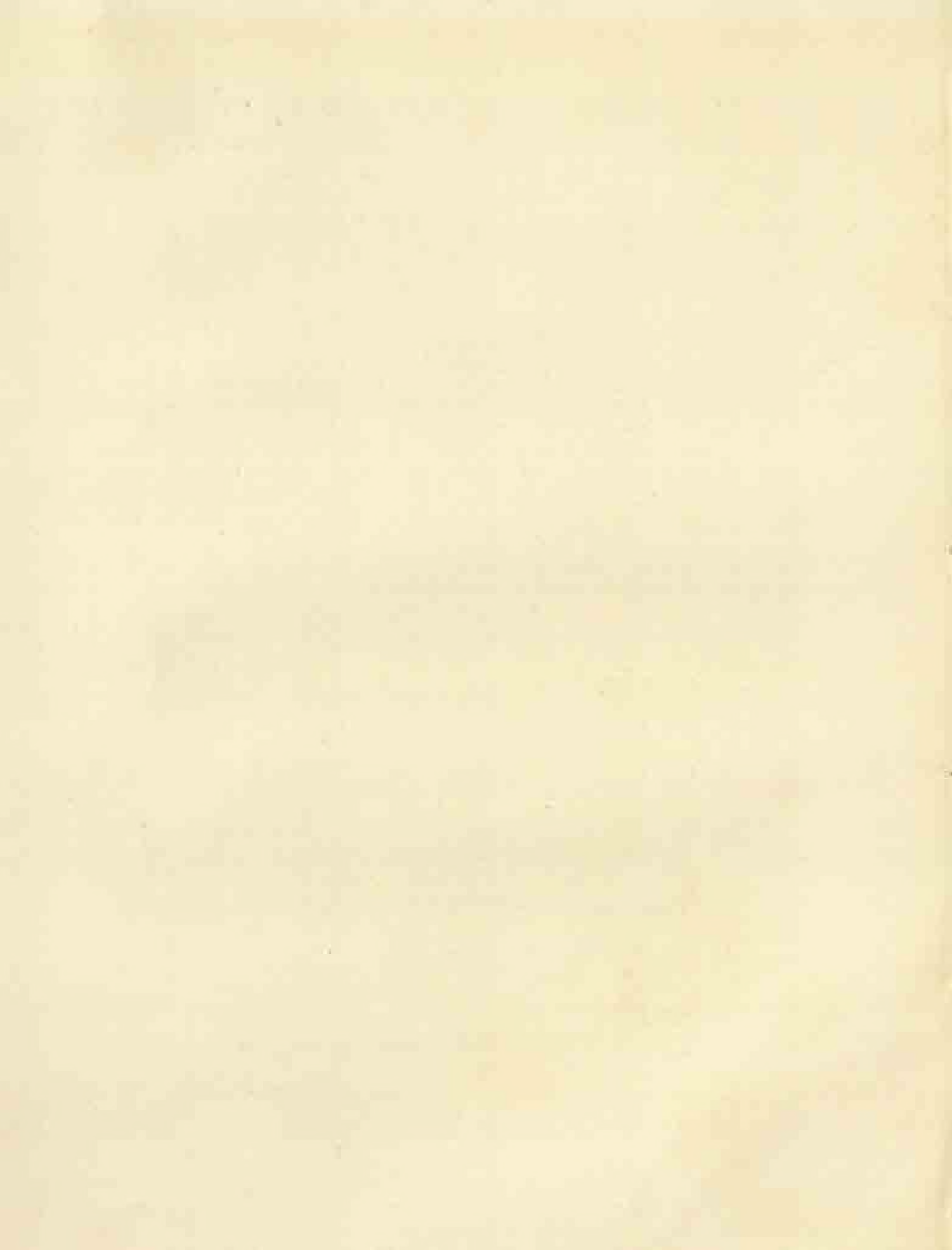
Against the wall of the anteroom rests an old painting in a heavy gilt frame. Faint as it is, the subject of it can still be made out. It represents the Descent from the Cross. The livid body of her Divine Son rests half on Our Lady's knee, half on the ground; Mary Magdalen, kneeling before the Master, kisses His left hand, and St. John, the faintest figure of the four, stands by, badly damaged. No name could be traced in the corners, even after rubbing them well. This painting may have some value. I should think it hails from Europe, and we know that very precious paintings by the old masters or valuable copies of them followed the Missionaries across the seas. No wonder that an Austrian painter offered to take this one in exchange for one of his painted Madonnas, which he said was worth Rs. 2000. Several times he came back, and the last time he said he would give Rs. 100 in addition to his Madonna. Beware of peddlers in paintings. If this painting could be brushed and cleaned, the name of the author might



ALTAR OF OUR LADY OF THE ROSARY.
BANDEL.



HIGH ALTAR OF THE CONVENT.
BANDEL.



perhaps be discovered. It might mean a small fortune for Bandel. I know of a Church in India, hundreds of miles away from here—I am not free to reveal the exact place—which has a picture worth as much as the Church that contains it. And it is not a small Church. It might be turned into a Cathedral.

There are two other paintings in the Convent: one in the baptistery, representing Our Lord's Baptism in the Jordan, which clumsy renovations have reduced to a caricature; the other, of inferior execution, hangs in the cloisters, near the sacristy, and represents Our Lord washing the feet of His Apostles.

Behind the High Altar there is a sort of lumber room, the very place for cast-off antiquities. Indeed, here are a dozen old statues. They have been placed here, because they are too old and our ideals of fine art are not what they were two hundred years ago. Let us pity our forbears. They could get nothing better made in India. They paid the local artists quite handsomely, and thought their products marvellous for such an out-of-the-way place as Bengala. We have changed all that. We have brought the West almost to our very doors.

Above the High Altar there is now a life-size statue of the Sacred Heart; lower down, to the left, Our Lady of Lourdes in her white immaculate dress and the sky-blue cincture girding her graceful form; on the right, St. Joseph with the lily staff. All this from Munich, from the well-known firm of Meyer and Co., or from France. Meanwhile in the lumber room, lamenting better days now gone for ever, stand St. Augustine, St. Nicholas of Tolentino, a famous Augustinian Saint, the patron of this Convent, to whom the Church of Nagori, Bhawal, near Dacca, is also dedicated, Our Lady of Dolours, Our Lord risen from the Tomb (?), St. Anthony, a great favourite among the Portuguese (2 copies), and St. Dominic with the Rosary, for the Bandel Church has a Confraternity of the Rosary which we can trace back to the end of the 18th century. That lumber room is not a place for profane tourists to trespass into. It is enough that they should know there is nothing more to be seen.

Did I say nothing more? Well, it yielded some old tattered Church books, which I transferred to the Prior's quarters. Here, for instance, is a *Missale Romanum* printed Ulissipone / Apud Michaellem Manescal da Costa, / Sancti Officii Typographum. Anno M.DCC. LXIV [1764] / Cum facultate Superiorum. / Com Privilegio Real por especial Decreto de S. Magestade. / A' custa de Francisco Gonsalves Marques, e filho, Mercadores de livros. Vendo-se na... / da Rua Nova de ElRei. /

In it I found only the title-page of another book dated long before the Black Hole. *Observações / Medicas / Doutrinaes / Decem Casos gravissimos, Que em serviço da Patria, & das Nações estranhas escreve em / lingua*

Portuguesa, & Latina | Joam Curvo Semmedo, | Cavalleiro professo da Ordem de Christo, Familiar do Santo Officio, & Medico da Casa Real; | oferecidas | ao Illustro Senhor | Ruy de Moura Telles; | Arcebispo de Braga Primaz das Hespanhas. | Lisboa; | Na Officina de Antonio Pedrozo Galram; | Com todas as licenças necessarias, & Privilegio Real. | Anno M. DCCVII [1707]. |

That title-page would, perhaps, be worth a place in the Victoria Memorial. But, when did it come out to these distant shores? Across the title: *Pertence ao Convento de N.S. do Rosario de Bandel*. The binding of the Missal is recent: on both sides between the silver guards of the corners, there is an oval copper plate with the date 1866.

A third old book, a manual of plain-chant, is certainly an Augustinian relic. The title-page is gone, but I gather from the introductory matter that it was *Theatro Ecclesiastico* printed apparently at Lisbon in 1743. The author was an Augustinian, Frei Domingos do Rozario, dignissimo Vigario do Real Convento de Mafra. After an anonymous preface, which we may attribute to Frei Domingos do Rozario, comes *Approvaçam do M.R.P.M. Fr. Jozé de S. Christovam, Cantor mór do Convento de Nossa Senhora da Boa-Hora* (pp. 3), dated: Lisboa, Convento da Boa-Hora dos Agostinhos Descalços, 26. de Outubro de 1742. Below, on the same page, the "tax" fixed by Pereira, Teixeira and Vaz de Carvalho: 700 reis, Lisboa, 7 de Março de 1743. By the way, 700 reis is not equal to Rs. 700. A thousand reis nowadays is worth 4s. 3½d. There are 15 pages more of introductory matter before we come to the table of contents. They contain licenças da Ordem; licenças do Santo Officio; do Ordinario; an approbation by Fr. Antonio da Madre de Deos, Ex-leitor de Theologia, Qualificador do Santo Officio, &c., &c., approbation by Fr. Alvaro de S. Antonio (similar titles); 4 pieces of Latin poetry by Fr. Petrus a Sacramento "in authoris laudem"; aliud; aliud; aliud; 2 sonnets "em applauzo do author" by Fr. Francisco da Madre de Deos; a sonnet by Fr. João Baptista Zacharias; a sonnet and decimas of 6 stanzas by Fr. Pedro de Santo Antonio Lagarto. And all that for pp. 383. What generous times ancient authors lived in!

A fourth book, in Portuguese, on plain-chant again. Title gone. Running title: *Theatro Ecclesiastico*. It is different from the previous one, but the author is the same, Fr. Domingos do Rozario, who dedicates his book to Amabilissima Senhora, Our Amiable Lady Saint Mary. PP. VIII, 550. End missing.

A last one: *Cantus Ecclesiasticus pro defunctis...ad usum Fratrum Eremitarum, ac etiam Monialium | Ordinis S. P. Augustini in Regno Lusitaniae.* [Emblem of the Augustinian Order: on an escutcheon, a heart pierced with an arrow; behind the escutcheon, an eagle with two heads look-

ing in opposite directions, and holding in his left talon the sun, in the other the moon. Between the heads a mitre, with a crosier to left, and to right what looks like a belt with a buckle at the end; the whole surmounted by a Cardinal's (?) hat.] / Olyssipone 1819 / Typis Simonis Thaddaei Ferreira. / Palatini Senatus facultate. / Across the title, in the same writing as for the title-page of the medical treatise of 1707: *Pertence ao Convento de N. S. do Rozario de Bandel.*

"Sâhib, the ladder is ready."—"Ah!" Up again, but lighter, for we had not that cross of a ladder to carry, we mounted to the fourth story and there it was, our ladder, with a bamboo tied at each extremity and two additional bamboo rungs, the whole reaching the required height. "I have tried Sâhib. It won't break." In lighter costume now, I mounted. Some of the rungs were woefully apart, and, as I mounted, I reflected how a few years sometimes add to a man's personality. At risk to life and limb, I got to the concrete floor under the bells. Three bells: two big ones and a small one. What do they say? Why! Only that?

The small one said: "M. Smith, Howrah. / 1819. / "

The big cracked one, with a piece of the lower rim broken off said: "1811 +." How very laconic!

The other big one said nothing, until I felt with my hand the upper rim turned to the outside. Then, like a blind man who is used to it, I read distinctly with my fingers "1818 +".

That was all. What does it prove? That the tower is not older than the bells? Not necessarily.

The bells are hung up in the openings of the walls, and, to reverberate the sound equally, the room in the tower is dome-shaped. I ought to have measured the bells, but I had forgotten the tape. And a handkerchief would not do, not even two.

The journey downstairs threatened serious complications. "Mâfi, catch this!" And he caught it, my note-book, as well as a professional cricketer. "Mâfi, catch that!" And down it went, my sola-topi, till it struck the ladder and off it bounded at a tangent, so quick and brave that, but for a mighty lucky grab of that *mâfi*, it must have flown straight through the window to the foot of the tower, four stories deep. And I have not paid that *mâfi* yet!... Now here I am myself, safely landed downstairs, and much quicker than might have been expected. But, what? I had not thought of looking at the landscape from the openings near the bells, and yet was it not that identical landscape which Sir Eyre Coote and his staff had gazed upon in January 1757? On January 12, 1757, he took possession of a Portuguese Convent at Hugli and from the top of the church they saw two miles into the country.¹

¹ Cf. S. C. Hill, *Bengal in 1756-1757*, III. 14.

Be it so. I wonder whether Coote and his staff went up to the bells with a bamboo ladder.

Here in the fourth story, the windiest, coolest place of the Convent, the present Prior used to sleep, till one stormy afternoon the lightning struck the tower, smashing scores of panes in the Church and shaking the whole building. Bricks and bits of the wooden cross on the cone of the steeple were flung a thousand feet away, right up to the river. From that time dates the lightning-conductor and the little sleeping room over the East entrance of the monastery.

Let us proceed with our investigations in the Church. Very little in it appears to be of any great antiquity. Generations of Priors have been busy renovating, modernising the furniture.

Of some antiquity are the pulpit, the organ and the screen at the entrance of the Church. Oldest of all must be the heavy, wooden, richly gilt constructions setting off the three altars. They reach up to the ceiling and are all three in the same romanesque style. Above the one behind the High Altar, as also above the Altar in the sacristy and the screen I spoke of, I notice the Augustinian coat of arms: a heart pierced with an arrow, resting on a book (?) and surrounded by what I call a girdle with a buckle pending at the end. The more complex emblem, which I mentioned in connection with my 4th old book appears on the long seat and the two chairs used by the Priests during the solemn religious functions. Remark, however, that the positions of the sun and moon are here reversed. Old again are, at the Altar of Our Lady of the Rosary in the left aisle, the statue of Our Lady of the Rosary, the statue of St. Anthony to the left of it, and that of St. Rita, an Augustinian Saint, to the right. The ivory crucifix with the silver decorations at the extremities looks also old.

All the rest is new: the statue of Our Lady of Dolours above the Altar in the right aisle, the statues of St. Roch and St. Anthony before the rails of the High Altar, the Stations of the Cross, the pews. The old organ is out of use; a harmonium does duty for it on big feastdays, when pilgrims come in numbers from Calcutta.

The chief statues in the Bandel Church seem to have changed their positions several times. Father L. Bodson, S. J., writing in *Précis Historiques*, Bruxelles, 1896, p. 40, says after a visit to Bandel that above the Altar in the right aisle there was a statue of O.L. of Dolours, and that neither the High Altar nor the altar in the left aisle were dedicated to Our Lady. Above the High Altar there is now a statue of the S. Heart; but it was placed there in quite modern times. The statue of O.L. of Dolours is now in the right aisle, and that of Our Lady of the Rosary in the left aisle. The Rev. J. Long says: "Bandel Church has three handsome Altars, one of which is

dedicated to St. Augustin." *Calcutta Review*, Vol. 5, June 1846, p. 260. There are 4 altars now, if we count the one in the sacristy, and I should think that altar has stood there from time immemorial, with the statue of St. Augustine. Since the Church was from the first dedicated to Our Lady of the Rosary, we should think that the High Altar was dedicated to that title, and that therefore the altar to which the Sabbatine Indulgence was attached in 1726 was the High Altar. However, I find that the altar of Our Lady of the Rosary is distinguished from the High Altar in 1805. The privilege of the Sabbatine Indulgence was still recorded in 1803 in a glazed frame to be seen in the "Chapel." (*Asiaticus*). I looked for it in vain. It said: "*Este Altar [da Virgem Nossa Senhora] do Rosario [do Convento d' Ugolym] He [Privilegiado ao Sabbato] Pello Sumo Pontifice Benedicto XIII. Anno de MDCCXXVI.*"

As the practice of burying in the Church has practically ceased, a thing not to be over-much regretted from a sanitary point of view, much of the Church has of late years been paved with marble. There are stones in the pavement marking the progress of the work. The paving from the High Altar rails to the High Altar was done in 1873; from the altar rails in the aisles up to the altars and again that portion before the High Altar which lies between the foremost pillars and the Communion rails, in 1874; the square before the rails in the aisles was marbled in 1877, but the fact was hardly worth commemorating with an inscription; hence, the two stones bearing the date were discarded to the terrace of the Church; finally, the present Prior paved with marble in 1899 the central passages running up the nave and the aisles.

We are not at the end of our investigations. There are the funerary inscriptions. We shall be brief to-day, and shall take in only those in the right aisle and on the Epistle side of the nave. Some of these inscriptions have appeared at different times in *Asiaticus* (1803), M. De Rozario's *Complete Monumental Register* (1815), which merely repeats *Asiaticus*, Holmes & Co.'s *Bengal Obituary* (1848) and C. R. Wilson's *List of Inscriptions on Tombs or Monuments in Bengal*, Pt II (1896). The last, I am sorry to say, has only 3 inscriptions against the 4 of Holmes & Co., and the 4 of *Asiaticus*. None of the collections is complete, and, as these notes are intended to be as much as possible a complete record of what is to be seen at Bandel, I cannot but copy and publish all these inscriptions. I remark first that the inscriptions to Joao Gomes de Soto and his family (1661), to Arthur Nowland (1784), both in *Asiaticus*, are no more to be seen; the same for the one to Captain S. Nickels (1819) in Holmes.

I have given above the inscription to Gomes de Soto. I find in the Bandel Burial Registers that Mme Maria Mabert, wife of Capt. Ricardo

¹ "This Altar of the Virgin Our Lady of the Rosary of the Convent of Ugolym is privileged on Saturdays by the Sovereign Pontiff Benedict XIII. Year MDCCXXVI [1726]"

Mabert, was buried in the tomb of Joao Gomes de Soto, within the Church, on February 7, 1798.

The inscription to Arthur Nowland was as follows: Here lies the Body of / *Arthur Nowland*, / Born the 9th of July 1782, / Died the 3rd of Oct. 1784, / Aged 2 years 2 months 24 days; / Truly lamented by his affectionate parents, / by whom this stone was placed to his memory./

The inscription to Capt. Nickels said: Sacred to the Memory of *Captain S. Nickels* / who died 14th August 1819, / aged 69 years 6 months. /¹

Here are the other inscriptions.

The only one in the right aisle against the wall is:

(1) Here reposeth / the mortal part of one of the most / amiable and best of women, / *Catherine Barber*, / the mother of a loving progeny; / and for 31 years the wife of / a happy husband; / she died at Chinsurah / the 12th May 1821, / aged 55 years. / "Her ways were ways of pleasantness / and all her paths were peace." / Prov. 3: 17. / This tribute of regard to her memory / is paid by her disconsolate husband, / *Bartholomew Barber, Sr.* /

The Barbers were a wealthy family of Chinsura. The Hooghly River Survey (Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, 1886), Sheet No. 1, Section P., indicates Mr. Barber's house at Chinsura.

The following three are also known:—

(2) Sacred / to the Memory / of / *Mrs. Madelena Petroos*, / who departed / this Life on the / 12th Nov. 1837 / aged 67 years 3 months and 20 days / [5 ll. in Armenian.] / (*J. Nicholas, Sct.r. Chinsurah.*) /

The family must have been Armenian, for there are 5 lines in Armenian, which Holmes did not notice.

(3) Here lies the body / of / *Constantia Weston*, / aged sixty-five years, / who departed this life / on the 3rd day of September / 1801; / a tender mother / and faithful affectionate wife. / To whose memory / this stone is dedicated / by her much afflicted husband / *Charles Weston.* / (*J. Palmer Sc.s.*) /

Her husband, says Asiaticus, would give "one hundred Gold Mohurs a month to the indigent from a box placed on his table."² In 1803 he lived at Chinsura.

(4) Sacred / to the memory of / *Mrs. Elisabeth Bourrilhon*. / Died 2nd March 1887. / Aged 100 years. / "He that loveth not, knoweth

¹ The name *Nickels* is found in inscriptions in the compound of the Balthakhana Church of O. L. of Deloura, and also, I think, in the cemetery attached to the Church of St. John the Evangelist, Upper Circular Rd., Calcutta.

² *Cl. Sketches respecting Bengal*, Pt. I. (Calcutta, 1803), pp. 6-7 n.

not God, for God is love." / "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord." / This tablet is erected by her sorrowing daughter, / *Miss Maria Baurrilhon.*

The other inscriptions may have been published in articles of an ephemeral nature, but they are not in the collections.

(5) Probably, this one here, near the first pillar, right, from the entrance, was never noticed before. It is the second oldest in the Church, and the letters are so much encrusted with mortar that I had never remarked it until now. The edges of the stone have been encroached upon by the cemented floor, but the measurements of what is visible are 80 x 20 cm. Remark the abnormal length as compared with the breadth. Below 10 short lines of Armenian, I read: *Feab: de / ierijan / 11 [?] de Jul/hô, a°: 1760.* / The date 1760 appears also in the Armenian. The stone is extremely hard, and so is the mortar embedded within the letters. Not even with a nail and a hammer could we detach any of it. Hence, I am not sure of the *ri* in "ierijan." Does it stand for Erivan?

(6) Further, as we go up the nave: *Ci git / Charles Joseph Felix / Piron / Mort Le 25 Aout / 1806 / Agé de 10 Mois / 22 Jours. / (Lindemann & Co. Sr.) /*

Compare this with an inscription in the Church at Chandernagore: *Ci Git Jean Henri Piron / Officier François Général commandant le corps / François au service du Saubau du Decan. Né / A Huningue le 25 Mars 1763. Mort Au jardin de / L' Amitié le 21 Octobre 1807, âgé de 44 Ans, / 6 Mois, 26 Jours. /¹*

(7) Still further, we have a beautiful example of a lady's Christian devotedness to her ayah. "Here lies / The Body of / *Susannah De Rosario* / Ayah of / *Mrs. Lydia Fulton.* / Obiit the 18th May 1822. / (*Simpson & Llewelyn Sct.s Calcutta*)."² / There are Fultons in Calcutta, Catholics, who may be descended from this lady.³

(8) Higher up the nave: Sacred / To the Memory of / *Mrs. Christina Michel* / Relict of the late / *Captain Prudence Michel*, / who died at Chinsurah / on the 2nd Decr. 1852, aged 73 years, / and was buried in the same grave / with her three daughters, / *Catherine, Mary, and Antoinette Michel.* / Her exemplary life is recollected / by numerous relatives and friends / and is recorded in this instance / by her grand-daughter / *Miss Maria Caroline Barber* /

¹ Cf. Holmes, *Bengal Obituary*, p. 250. I doubt whether the lines are correctly divided off.

² Her grave is at Chinsurah: "Sacred to the Memory of *Lydia Fulton* / wife of Lieut.-Col. *Fulton*, / who departed this life on the 31st Sept. 1843, / aged 65 years. / She was the grand-daughter of the late / *Charles Weston, Esq.*, of blessed memory. / "Thanks be to God which giveth us the victory through Our Lord Jesus Christ." + Cf. Holmes, *Bengal Obituary*, p. 353.

who dedicates this inscription / to her beloved memory in January 1855 / (*P. Lindemann & Sons, Scs.*) /

Her husband predeceased her at Chinsura in 1838, at nearly the same age, and the same Miss Maria Caroline Barber, his grand-daughter, erected in January 1853 the stone which marks his grave in the Catholic Chapel of Chinsura.

There are still two tablets on the two pillars nearest to the sanctuary.

(9) In Memoriam / Reverendissimi Patris / *Josepho a Sancto Augustino Gomes.* / Hujus Conventus Prior, / Et Romanæ Catholicæ in Bengala / Missionis circiter 24 annos / Superior fuit / Atque annos 68 et 5 menses natus / Die 12 Novembris 1869 defunctus est. / Requiescat in pace. / (*Murdoch & Co. Sculptors.*) /

(*Translation*):—To the memory of the Very Revd. Father Joseph de S. Agostinho Gomes, Prior of this Convent and during about 24 years Superior of the Roman Catholic Mission in Bengal. Aged 68 years and 5 months, he died on the 12th November 1869. May he rest in peace.

He was the last Augustinian Prior of Bandel and the last Augustinian in Bengal and perhaps in India, for the Augustinians were suppressed in Portugal and Goa in 1834.

(10) † / Sacred / to the memory of / Rev. *Gabriel Salvadore Britto* / Late Prior of Bandel. / Died 7th July 1891 / Aged 48 years & 7 days. / Requiescat in pace. / (*Murdoch & Co. Scs.*) /

Let us read still the inscription in the centre of the space close to the rails before the High Altar.

(11) Sacred / to the memory / of / Mrs. Annie Quantin / born in 1833 / and / died on the 18th of January 1892, / aged 58 years. / Leaving the whole of her estate / for charitable purposes. / "May her soul rest in peace." / (*Calcutta, Brown & Co. Scs.*) /

I think she was a St. Quantin, and therefore of French origin. The name occurs in the form St. Quantin in the Turretta Cemetery Park Street.

The remaining inscriptions we shall keep for to-morrow.

Evening.—I spent the rest of the morning at the Registers. At 2 P.M., the two *mâtts*, armed with a *kuddi* and a basket each, follow me to the São Paulo garden, to the left of Circuit House. The place is of some importance in the history of Bandel. No book that I know of gives the proper directions. Take the public road and go along the western wall of the Convent; walk straight on to the North and do not mind any of the roads or paths bifurcating to the right or to the left. When you come in view of Circuit House, that noble demesne where the Governor comes at times during his tours in the District, turn into the broad pathway to your left. You are still in Balaghar, or Balagarh, whatever be the spelling. The Survey wrote formerly

Bollygurree, but the Survey can spell very wrong at times. Now, as soon as you come to a long brick wall on your right, stop and look for the path. You cannot miss it. There is only one. You are at the *málí's* lodge. Knock, and shout "*Darwán*" or "*Máli*," but, if he is at his work in the fields and does not turn up, do not go back disappointed. There is a tree hanging over the wall, which has helped many people already to scale the wall. Be not fastidious, after which you will open the door to the lady tourists. The distance along the big road is a little over a mile.¹

"Why all that trouble?" you ask. "Is there anything worth seeing here?" I say yes, for antiquarians. This is the garden where the Jesuit Fathers used to live in the olden times. They were generally known in India by the name of Paulists from their great College of São Paulo de Santa Fe at Goa. Hence this garden is to this day called the São Paulo *bagán* or *bagichá*. Ask for the São Paulo *bagán*, and most of the country-folk, I do not say the clerical class of *bábús* who know nothing beyond their counter or their desk, but such intelligent people as gardeners or coolies, will direct you straight to this place.

It may be useful to know that the Hooghly Survey Map of 1886, Sheet No. 1, Sect. 1, calls the garden by the name of Muktodasi's garden, but as there are two contiguous gardens going by the same name, I must add that I speak of the more western one.

To continue. It is evident that, if the Jesuit Fathers lived here, their house and their Church must have stood close to each other. We know that they lived here till 1740, when the last Rector died here, Fr. George Deistermann. Father J. Tieffentaller, the great geographer, the first to publish what we would now call an *Indian Gazetteer*, came to Calcutta in 1765, and he has left us a somewhat fanciful plan of the Bandel Church and the Jesuit College, which latter, he says, was already then in ruins. Abbate Ripa who visited this place in 1709 says that the Jesuit Church was very pretty. He even heard Father Zech, the Silesian, preach in Portuguese on Ash-Wednesday.² More curious still. Father Barbier, S. J., who accompanied Bishop Laines in his pastoral tour through Bengal (1712-15), states that Bishop Laines died at the College of Hugli and was buried before the High Altar. We published that letter in *Bengal: Past & Present* (Vol. VI, 1910), pp. 223-227. We published also in *J. A. S. B.*, 1911, pp. 15-35, a list of the Portuguese Jesuits in Bengal. Many of these lived at Hugli.

¹ See the plan of Muktodasi's Garden in the Hooghly River Survey Map 1886. We have written S. Paulo Garden across it, and have added a few explanatory letters: W. W.—wall 432 ft. long; T¹, T², T³—tank; M—*máli's* lodge; E—entrance; R. R. R.—old road (?); D—drain; K—knoll; G—ghat in T¹; S. S. S. S. S.—piles of masonry, old tomb(s)?, site of the São Paulo Church (?).

² Cf. *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. VIII 1914 p. 173.

Their House or Residence at Hugli was called a College, and this term has led to the very wrong notion that they had here a big educational establishment. Georgi, an Augustinian, wrote: "When Bandel was under the Portuguese King, the Ruler of this city, before it was taken by Oranzeb [Aurangzeb], Emperor of the Mogolls, the Christian religion flourished admirably in this city as well as in all the country of Bengal; the hospice of the Augustinian Friars of Bandel was formerly celebrated and distinguished, not so much for the size of its buildings, and the number of Religious men, as for the splendour of its public schools; it is still to be seen in our day, but in consequence of the calamities of the times, it is almost destitute of inhabitants except a few."¹ The public schools of Bandel, whether of the Augustinians or of the Jesuits, and their magnificence are a myth. We do not hear of any public schools managed by the Augustinians. What led to the mistake is the name of College which the Jesuit residence bore. The official language of the Society of Jesus did not know about 1619-23 of residences not attached to some College; when, therefore, the Order established itself in a new country, a *Collagium* or *Collegium inchoatum* would be formed, around which other houses were grouped. The Superior of the College had the name of Rector.² As a fact, the Jesuit house of Hugli never rose to be more than a small residence, with two or three Fathers and occasionally a lay-brother. They had no cure of souls, the parishes being all in the hands of the Augustinians. It is quite possible, however, that both round the Convent of Bandel and the Jesuit Residence there was some sort of village school where the children would be taught the three R's, the Catechism, singing and church music. Instrumental music was an accomplishment which the boys would have picked up during recreation hours; for it might be said with truth that in those days every remote descendant of Vasco de Gama and his fidalgos was born with a violin under his chin or a flute in his mouth. To some extent it is true yet.

It is pretty probable that the Jesuits occupied this garden from 1640 to 1740, and I have given above my reasons for thinking that they were here in 1620 already. Count up then how many of them must have died here

¹ Georgi, *Alphabetum Tibetanum*, Rome, 1762, p. 173. The extract occurs in an itinerary from Calcutta to Lassa, which must have been written by the Capuchin Missionaries Horacio della Penna and Cassiano Belligatti; therefore, about 1739-40. I believe that the passage is due merely to a misunderstanding of the term "College," as applied to the Jesuit Residence. If the Augustinians had been able to manage a large public school at Bandel, they would have been able to do it in Calcutta between 1700 and 1834; but, when the English Jesuits came in 1834 to establish their St. Xavier's College, the forerunner of its homonym in Park Street, the Augustinians had in connection with the Murghibata Church only a small parish school of about 40 boys.—I need scarcely remark that to attribute to Aurangzeb the capture of Hugli in 1632 is a serious anachronism.

² Cf. H. Janson, S. J., *Missioni Belge*, Bruxelles, 1913, p. 323.

during the 100 or 120 years of their occupation. Bengal was notorious for its unhealthy climate. It was looked upon as the white man's grave. Since the practice was to bury the clergy and large numbers of the laity in the Churches, all the Jesuits who died here must have been buried in their Church.

I came here four years ago, looking for the traces of the College and the Church, and I went away disappointed, as I found nothing, except plenty of broken bricks littering the ground. Here I am again to dig up the foundations of the House and Church, and see if, perchance, we might come upon the last resting-place where the saintly Bishop Laines has lain for two centuries. There was a time, I think, when the cause of his beatification was considered, for he baptized about 50,000 people in Southern India, but information was wanted about his tomb and his remains and could not be given. Several of our Fathers dug here on former occasions and gave it up.

Come along then. At present, the garden belongs to the Bandel Convent and is rented out to Bengali tenants. How the transfer from the Augustinians to the Jesuits took place I have not examined. The garden is planted all over with trees, coconut-trees, mango-trees, plantain-trees, and you see how it is ploughed yearly to loosen the soil around the trees. The area of it is about 13 (7) bighás, I am told.¹ The southern wall is in good condition; the western wall shows signs of decay; the North wall is entirely down and it requires vigilance to prevent the encroachments of greedy neighbours; to the East, the river side, the wall is in very bad condition, but there is a good wall round the property of the neighbour and only a narrow path between the two gardens; hence, no encroachments are possible on that side. On the West side of the garden there are three tanks. The bigger tank is in the centre, where the ground rises about 8 ft.

We have come almost to the centre of the garden.² Remark how the ground suddenly dips about 3 ft. up to the foot of the eminence near the central tank. One might think there was a road from the East end to the West end of the garden. It would have been broad enough for carriages coming to the Church. Are there any traces of gateways at either end? No, unfortunately for my suggestion. There, to the east end of our hypothetical road, where the wall is entirely down, the ground slopes down deeper. Opposite, in the wall of the neighbour, there is a circular opening in solid masonry to

¹ In my notes I wrote 30 bighás; but, in 1910, after my first visit to the place, I wrote that the garden was formerly divided into two, the central partition wall having now disappeared, and that its area was about 12 bighás. Fr. Rodrigues, to whom I submitted my notes of 1910, let stand the "12 bighás."

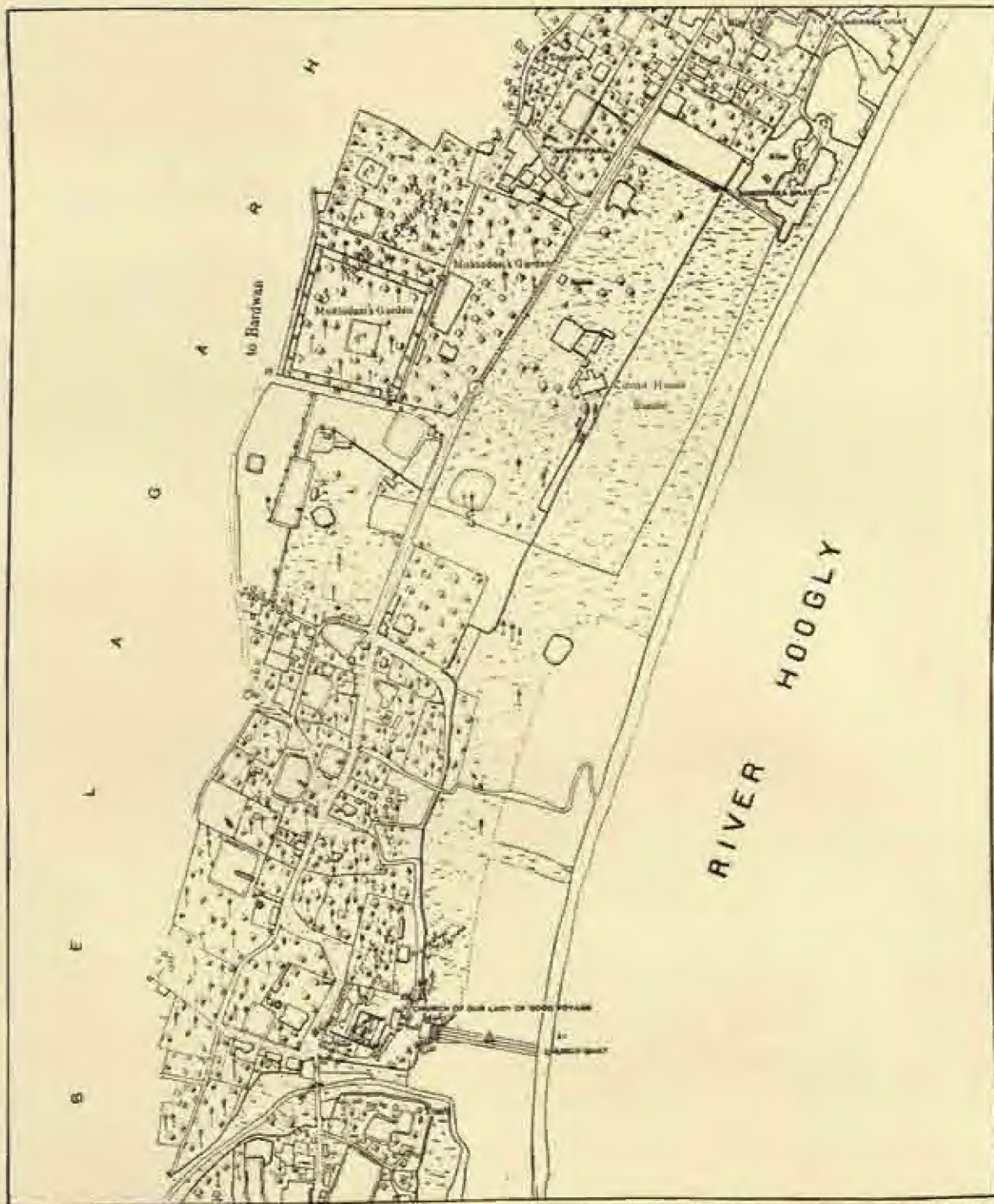
² Here would have been the central partition wall.

admit the rain-water into his tank. Not only is there that circular hole, but on either side of it there is a low parapet narrowing inwards to direct through it the flow of the water, and prevent its injuring the walls. Probably there was a similar opening through the wall of the Fathers. All this helps us to solve the problem of the drainage of the garden.

We are at the top of the knoll. We are four, Maka, the *māli* of the garden, having followed us. "Where stood the *gīrjā* (church)?"—"Here, Sāhib, where we stand."—"How do you know?"—"I know it from childhood."—"How?"—"I was born in this garden."—"Was your father *māli* of this place?"—"Yes."—"And your father's father?"—"Also."—"Hullo! That would bring us close to 1803, when Asiaticus said that the foundations of the Cathedral Church. (1)¹ of St. Paul (and of the Church *da Misericordia*?) could still be traced. At any rate this man's grandfather or his father ought to have known the time when the tenant of the garden, who made his fortune by selling bricks and making *surrāhi*, took the bricks of these ruins away."—"All the people, Sāhib, say that the *gīrjā* stood here."—"Was it the *gīrjā* or the *ghar* (house) of the Fathers?"—"Gīrjā and *ghar* is much the same, Sāhib. It was the *gīrjā-ghar*."—"I know about *gīrjā-ghar*. But, don't you see that this place is not big enough for both the *gīrjā* and the *ghar* of the Fathers?"—"I don't know."—"Sāhib," interposed Salku, the old *māli* of the Convent, "there is a very old woman near the Convent who says that the *gīrjā* stood here. Her name is Lakhi."—"Very old? How old?" His answer came to this. "Sāhib, if you say old, as who says old, then she is not very old; but if you say old, as when you say not very old, then she is old."—"Look here. What's the meaning of this heap of rubbish? Are all these coconut-leaves?"—"There are bricks under."—"Remove the leaves." A heap of broken bricks, but nothing like a wall, came into view. Surely something had stood here on this eminence, the bricks having simply been thrown into a heap close by for the sake of cultivation.

Very well, so far. Before we begin, let us make sure. What about the piles of masonry down there, near that ruined *māli's* hut? What are they?

¹ Father E. Hall, S. J., wrote in *The Examiner*, Bombay, 1915, pp. 81-82, a valuable article on the curious want of accuracy existing in India in the use of the term "Cathedral." A "Cathedral" connotes a Bishop-in-ordinary and his throne in the Sanctuary. In India people seem to imagine that any church of imposing architecture must be called a cathedral. The misnomer is very ancient, however. At Basra and Chaul, neither of which ever had a Bishop, the chief church in the hands of the secular clergy was called the *Matru* or *Sā*. "*Matris* means mother-church, of course, and the application of the terms *Sā* as an equivalent may explain the origin of the popular usage." Quite so. In the case of Asiatics, there appears to be no more than a misuse of terms. It is true that, if any of the Bantel Churches had been called the *Sā* in the 18th century, it would have been not the Jesuit but the Augustinian Convent Church: but at p. 46 Asiaticus calls the Augustinian Church a Cathedral too.



From: Hooghly Survey Map of 1680, Sheet No. 1, Section 1. Scale 10"-1 mile.

NORTHERN PORTION OF HOOGLY.

"Tombs, Sâhib."—"How many?"—"Five."—"Why? last time I counted only four. Where is the fifth?" Down we went and found six. Last time, I thought at first that the two big ones were parts of the pillars of a gate. Then I asked myself whether they were the pillars of the Church. But here are six piles of bricks now and they are not in a line. They may be tombs, as Maka says. He tells me too that Fr. V. M. Rodrigues dug near them formerly and found nothing.¹

"Maka, you may be right. The Church may have stood where you said." Up the knoll we climbed again, plunging our eyes into the depths of the weed-grown tank. "That's mighty deep," I reflected aloud. "Of course," said Maka. "Don't you see, Sâhib, how much earth they have thrown up on this side? That explains why the ground here is much higher. There is a *ghât* below.—"A *ghât*? Where? You did not tell me last time."—"I? Did you come here before?"—"Four years ago. Don't you recognize me?"—"No. So many Sâhibs come this way from Calcutta to look for the *gîrjâ*. They have seen it in some book, and so they come."—"So many! How many?"—"One or two every two or three months or so."—"And what do they see?"—"Nothing."—"And they give you *bahâshîsh*?"—"Yes, but *gâlî* too, because they find nothing."—"Show the *ghât*."—"There at the edge of the water under the grass."

I went down to find, quite at the bottom the two walls of a *ghât*, and steps covered with mud. Surely, that meant something too.

"Come along, I say." We went back to the top of the knoll, right in the centre.

"Pull off your coats, my men."

Maka sat down to look on. I had not engaged his services.

"Start here."—"What is the Sâhib going to do?" asked Maka.—"Dig! Don't you see?"—"Dig? For what?"—"Walls. The walls of the *gîrjâ*."—"But, you may not. I am the *mâlî*. My Sâhib *bahut gussâ karegâ* and *talab kâtegâ*."—"What? you Judas!"—"Judas *kyâ hai?*"—"Where is your Sâhib?"—"In Calcutta."—"Well, I too am from Calcutta, and look here. We are writing a book, a big book about this *bagichâ* and the Pâdre Sâhibs who lived here. I am one of the same *jât* as they, and if your Sâhib *bahut gussâ karegâ* and *talab kâtegâ*, we shall put it down in the book for all the world to see, and then somebody else *gussâ karegâ*." Maka opened his eyes very big, bigger than he had ever done. "There you are," said

¹ The *mâlî*'s information agreed exactly with what he had told me in 1910. He then said the Church had stood on the knoll, while the piles of masonry below were tombs. Father Rodrigues in 1910 insisted that the house of the Fathers had stood on the knoll, such being the tradition as he had received it from the oldest Christian inhabitants near Bandel. As for the Church, the piles of masonry, he said, indicated its site. These piles are about 1½ ft. above ground and from 2 to 3 ft. long and broad.

Salku tauntingly. "This Pádre Sáhib is writing a book, a big book. Don't you understand?"—"Begin, Salku. *In nomine Domini*."—"If you take it like that," Maka hazarded relentingly, "it is very easy. You will find the walls at once. The whole ground is *pakká*. Don't you see that the coconut-trees here don't grow properly?"—"You told me that four years ago."¹

Indeed, we were on *pakká* ground almost at once. Following it up, we came to a brick wall. We uncovered it, and followed it some distance. Then proceeding in the straight line it indicated, we dug at a spot some 15 ft. further, and found the wall 2' 11" broad, with a projection of the bricks either way at some depth under the ground, the broader projection being on the North side. The wall evidently bulged out here to form a broader basis. At the end of an hour and a half, my two men had uncovered the wall in two places along a straight line, the total length of the wall, counting parts left uncovered, being 47 ft. Besides, we had come to what promised to be one of the extremities of the wall.

"Didn't I tell you?" smiled Maka, suggesting *bakhshish*. "Catch me giving you *bakhshish*! But, in future you will get plenty from the Sáhib *lag* when you show them what we have done."

Salku and Saudágar (no peddler by the way) had worked mightily. They found it tremendously interesting, for we were continually mystified. And when they put on their coats and shouldered their *kudáls* to go home, they looked at each other as if to say: "Who would have thought that, in these evil days of the *kálf-yug*, both of us would have unearthed that long lost *gírjá*. Let them take our photo now and mould us in marble or in bronze."

I could not have looked less proud, for that very evening by 5 P.M. I wrote to my friends in Park Street announcing our discovery, whatever it was.

TUESDAY, January 6.—Epiphany day, day of pious thoughts and devotions with the Magi around the Crib near the altar of Our Lady of the Rosary. Some people had come from Calcutta yesterday evening to be present at Mass to-day. The many guest-rooms around the cloisters are scarcely ever without some occupants. At the big feasts they are cramful. Hardly a day passes without visits from pious pilgrims. The attractions of the Bandel Church are magical. To this, the oldest Church, the Mother-Church of all our Churches in Bengal, people flock from every side. Like a mighty magnet it draws the present back three centuries and more, right into the cradle of Christian Bengal.

Among the visitors there are no doubt occasionally jaded curiosity-seekers and sneering, prying globe-trotters, who come and tap the walls

¹ The former lessee wanted to dig up the place and plant it with trees, but Fr. Rodrigues would not allow it, as it is a historic site. (From my notes of 1910.)

with their canes, looking for walled-up nuns. But, the bulk come to pay off the vows they have made to Our Lady, sweet Comforter in the hour of distress. For ages it has been so; for ages may it continue. For ages may the storm-tossed mariner continue to call upon the Star of the sea which beckons him to Bandel. For ages more may our Annas bringing to Bandel the Samuels whom, hoping against hope, they have begotten, offer at Our Lady's shrine ten times their weight in wax. The Hindú villager, as he passes, stops, raises his hands to his breast, and bows his *namaskár* to the him mysterious Lady sitting on her throne in the noble fane. So did his forefathers; so does he now, and his children's children will do so after him.

Wonderful stories could be told of sudden cures declared hopeless by medical skill, of despaired-of conversions, of hearts re-united after long estrangement, of positions lost and recovered unexpectedly. Almost daily are letters received asking for Our Lady's protection. "Child very ill. Burn lamp and pray," is the wording of the telegram received just now. And one could fill volumes with the exultant letters acknowledging the thanks of the faithful.

Wonderful too is the ingeniousness, the ingenuous inventiveness of the people's piety. In fulfilment of a vow a lamp has been burning these 40 years before the altar of Our Lady of the Rosary. It has become a family tradition now handed down from father to son. In fulfilment of a vow, three candles have been burning these last three or four years before the same altar, and every month a box of candles is sent worth Rs. 10. Last year a gentleman offered 12 big wax-candles and 24 smaller ones. Total cost: Rs. 106. Oh, money is no concern to souls in pain, bodily or mental! They would vow a cathedral, had they the means, if they be but delivered from some chronic distemper, cancer or consumption. "Shoot me! Shoot me!" a Protestant lady called to her husband when she lay writhing in the agony of her asthmatic fits. She made a vow to Our Lady. She is cured.

Down the years, money has been left, and not a little, not only for Masses for the dead, but for the most unobtrusive purposes, such as feeding with oil, year in year out, the lamp burning before the Blessed Sacrament. Even the concerts which are given here on great festivals are founded on pious bequests. Little is it suspected by the old man walking in the procession, with head erect as of yore, his feet quickened by the strains of Lobo's Band, while his heart beats the tune.

"We too have great veneration for this ancient Church," one of the men of the Imámbára told me last Sunday. Hindú, Muhamádan, Pársi, and whatever the name by which Christians are known, Armenians, and Protestants, echo that saying. For many years a Protestant clergyman used to come once a year to spend a day at Bandel going from altar to altar, he, his wife, and their children.

And what shall I say of the antique simplicity of our primitive native Christians? It carries us back to the days of the Old Law and puts us all to the blush. Here is a Madras woman come all the way from Kharagpur with her boy, now 14 years old. "Father, the boy was very ill when he was small, and I promised him to the Church, if he recovered. He recovered, and here he is. Take him."—"Very well. I take him." After many long devotions in the Church, the happy mother prepares to go home, and of course the boy prepares to follow her. "Oh no," said the Father, "the boy is mine. I took him."—"But, Father!"—"But, mother! What about your vow?"—"Well, but we have brought something to buy him back."—"Did you? And what?"—"A goat." And there it was, a fine, sprightly little kid, worth almost as much as a Madras boy! Verily here was Anna *rediviva* bringing her Samuel to the temple, or the ransoming of the firstlings of the Jews against two turtle-doves.

Not less curious nor less edifying is the case that came under my notice to-day. A Bengálí Christian and his wife had brought with them their two children, one a baby, the other a boy of seven. Again a vow. For why do you think was the boy wearing such long tresses, something like a jogi's matted head of hair? Because in the time of his illness his parents had vowed never to let scissors, razor or other sharp instrument injure his head, till he came to the age of reason, and now he was 7 years old. Therefore they had come, all the way from Barisal, visiting every Church in Calcutta, and keeping Bandel as their seventh and last station. The Pádre Sáhib would now cut one of the pretty boy's ugly, tortuous, rattan-twisted tresses, and the barber in the bazar would do the rest. Oh, a happy day for the boy and his parents! Their days of grief and penance were over at last, and joy and happiness would sit down once more at the fire-side.

Rank superstition! someone will say. A Hindú practice, no doubt. Let him call it what he likes, but not superstition. What does he call superstition? Can he define it? Does he call superstition every form of worship to which he is not himself addicted? What shall we call so many practices of his, worse than bondage, which we abominate? Let him set his house in order first, sweep out of doors his belief in lucky horse-shoes and tigers' claws, in spirit-rapping and table-turning, in astrology and palmistry, in masonic triangles, John-from-over-the-water, mahátmás or the Dalai Lama. The saffron-clothed *jogi* with matted hair, who shakes his Vishnu trident in the streets and mumbles his prayers on the 108 beads of his rosary, has more piety in him, even if he misdirects his worship, than the dandy with neatly trimmed moustache who humbugs the Creator by thinking him too great for his prayers and his bowing his knees. Grief and penance sits down on the dung-hill in sackcloth and ashes. It shows itself in the long dishevelled hair of the Nazarite. It is symbolised in the cropped head of the Hindú widow lamenting her husband's death. Her short hair are her widow's weeds, and she will carry them with her

to the grave. Such practices and the like are not Hindú, nor Asiatic. They are mundial; for they are human. They have their reason in the heart of man, and man can give reason for his belief in them, but not for your modern forms of witchcraft.

The very existence of Bandel Church to-day is on a small scale miraculous. The wonder lies in the inexhaustible treasures of Christian charity. Burnt down and then rebuilt; too small and rebuilt again; pillaged in the year of the Black Hole and renovated; falling into decay fifty years later and renovated once more, it stands to-day more beautiful than our forefathers in the faith may ever have known it. And yet, for more than a century, not a hundred inhabitants, and they the poorest of the poor, have lived at Bandel, Hugli and Chinsura, places where before the thirties of the 17th century they were ten thousand. But those ten thousand, while they drifted away to Calcutta, Eastern Bengal, Bihar and Oudh, to the United or the Central Provinces, carried with them their devotion to Bandel's Lady of the Rosary—*do Rosario*, what a common family name! But for their alms, Bandel Church would long have ceased to be. Still it stands, and its lofty steeple may survive during centuries to come the injuries of earthquakes and lightning, thanks to their help.

Look at the Visitors' Book and say whether the devotion to the Bandel shrine is on the wane. This volume, opened only on September 1, 1907, is nearly full. Yet it records merely the name of the visitors and their address. An earlier volume, begun about November 1900, was full in seven years. And not one in five, perhaps, has signed. Here is the monthly total of the visitors that signed in 1913.

January	100	February	152	March	86	April	59
May	138	June	85	July	49	August	41
September	81	October	85	November	131	December	89

Total=1,096.

In the list appear some illustrious names: Sir John Woodburn (March 18, 1902); Sir Andrew Fraser (February 6, 1904); Sir Edward Baker (February 12, 1909); Lord and Lady Minto (February 22, 1910) with their party: Lady Elliott, Sir Francis Scott, Sir Evelyn Gibbs and Col. A. Tod. The Earl of Minto came also on March 2, 1908, and you may see in St. Augustine's Hall the photo of himself which he presented to the Convent as a souvenir of his visit.

The visitors' book in spite of its directions to the contrary contains many gushing effusions of hearts overflowing either with sorrow or gratitude, and asking all to be remembered in our prayers. We cannot so very much object to this, but there are gushings of another kind.

The worst visitors are the people of our Calcutta kintáls. Accustomed to insult, given or received, being shown little honour and having little of it

to lose, living on the Church and expecting everything from the Church, they are exacting to a degree and easily forget all the proprieties of civilized language. "We have been treated very badly by the servants here. They would not let us enter the kitchen to cook a little food, and if it was not for the mali, we would not have got even drinking water." As if everyone of the many straggling visitors had the right to trespass into the Padre's kitchen, and use his coal or his firewood, his stove and his cooking utensils. But the next day a native gentleman and his party rebuked them as they deserved. "Visited the Church with two other friends. We were very well treated." Address in full.

Here is much better still. It is as amusing as it is sober in punctuation. "The above came into Bandel Church on the 6th June to fulfil [*sic*] a sacred vow but unfortunately could not get the Priest we wired to Boitkhana Church for the Priest to come up he failed to do so this matter will be reported to the Bishop at an early date as it is extremely hard to remedy the loss which the people have suffered and a suit will be filed to recover damages to the extent of Rs 100 one hundred to compromise." Addresses prudently left out.

Kintál people again! When will they learn manners? They are the same who, after paying their respects to Our Lady in the Church, help themselves to all the flowers and fruits in her holy garden, mangoes, guavas, papayass, bel-fruits, pummelos, litchis, bilimbis, plantains, even jack-fruits and coconuts. They are bent on pleasure as much as on piety, and what does it matter to them if the Padre Sáhib, after their depredations, must buy in Calcutta flowers for his altar or in the bazar papayas for his table? Have they not indemnified him by dropping a few nickels in the box near the Visitors' Book?

That box has an inscription. We must not miss it, I mean, the hole in the box and the inscription. Bandel Church / Established / 1599 / Please Drop In This / Box Your Contribution / For The Repairs of / This / Historical Monument. /

This reminds us of the inscriptions still to be copied in the Church. In the nave, on the epistle side, as we go up from the entrance to the High Altar we find:—

(12) *Jane Isabel De Costa*. / Died at Bandell / On the 12th April 1830 / Aged 57 Years. / This stone has been placed by / *Mrs. Lydia Fulton*. / (*Yeatherd & Co. Scs. Calcutta*.) /

Lydia Fulton! We have read that name on another inscription in this Church.

(13) Sacred / to the memory of / *Anna Maria Minoss*. / Died 29th November 1884 / aged 62 years. / Erected by her / loving grand-

daughter / *Louisa Ann Andrew*. / (*Silvester & Co. Sets. Calcutta.*) /¹

- (14) Sacred / to the memory of / *Miss Anna Maria Leon* / who departed / this life / on the / 25th May 1833 / aged 67 years and 9 months. / (Follow 5 ll. in Armenian.) / (*J. Nicholas Scp's Calcutta.*) /

She must have been a Leon Sarad, and of Armenian origin, as the inscription testifies.

(15) In the western aisle we have the beautiful inscription, chiselled on stone as hard as iron, to Elizabeth da Silva of S. Thomé, who died at Chinsura from very fright of the Moors (November 21, 1756), aged only 22 years. That was the year of the Black Hole. The inscription, in Latin, is a model of 18th century calligraphy. For other instances of such calligraphy one must go to the Murghihata Cathedral or to the Charnock monument.

Hic / Jacet *Elizabeth ex Sylva*, in / *Mailapurensi Civitate Divi / Thomæ* orta, et ex honestis / *Lusitanisque Patribus* oriunda, / quæ labore, et infirmitate oppressa / ex belo [*sic*] *Anglis a mauris* illato, / Obiit loco *Chinçura* die 21, / *Novembris æræ Christianæ* 1756, / ætatis suæ 22 annum pertingens. / *Requiescat in pace.* /

(*Translation*):—Here lieth Elizabeth da Sylva, born of honourable Portuguese parents at S. Thomé of Mailapur. Crushed by troubles and illness contracted during the war of the Moors against the English, she died at Chinçura on the 21st November 1756, A.D., aged 22. May she rest in peace.

This is the last inscription in the Church. In the garden between the cloisters lay a cast-off stone recording the name of one of Miss Maria Leon's (?) ancestors.

- (16) To the memory of the / late *M^r Leon Sarad* who / departed this life on the / 5th Nov. 1790 at Chensurah / (Follow 2 ll. in Armenian.) /

This inscription was on two small white marble tablets, of equal size, which must have been juxtaposed in the pavement or superposed along the walls of the Church. Probably, when the Church was cemented, they were lifted up, but the cement knitting them together was so strong that the lower part of the 3rd line and the upper part of the 4th line cracked off. This must have been the reason why the stones were placed here. With a little patience I succeeded in restoring the reading.

¹ Is not *Minas* an Armenian name? Elias Minas and Owenjohn Elias Minas gave (up to 1848) to the Armenian Philanthropic Academy, Calcutta, Rs. 38,920. Cf. Mesrobian J. Seth, *History of the Armenians in India*. Calcutta, 1895, p. 123.

Close to this stone, there lay another white marble tablet, which was formerly fixed below the statue of Our Lady of Happy Voyage, above the portico, outside, till a munificent benefactress put up the marble niche in which that statue is now housed. The tablet in the Convent quadrangle says :

(17) The old tower was destroyed / by earthquake on 12th June 1897. /
This new tower was built by / *Rev. P. M. DaSilva*, Prior of /
The Bandel Church by / Subscriptions raised by him. / November
1897. / (*P. Swaries & Co., scts. Calcutta.*) /

The damage done to the tower must have been considerable. On June 18, 1897, the Prior, Fr. P. M. daSilva, wrote that the tower had "entirely" collapsed, and the terrace, walls, etc., of the Church and Convent were badly cracked. The repairs would involve an outlay of Rs. 10,000.¹ That appeal was responded to. The Rs. 10,000 were found. The tower looks as new or, if you prefer, as old, as ever. The earthquake seems not to have left on it as much as a scratch.

While we are standing here, let me point to the Grotto of Our Lady of Lourdes at the west end of the quadrangle. It is one of half-a-dozen designed and superintended by Father A. Van de Mergel, and was

(18) Erected by *Mr. & Mrs. E. G. Slater*, / in honor of Our Lady of
Lourdes / and in memory of their loving daughter / *Mary Slater* /
1908. / "

¹ Cf. *Indo-European Correspondence*, Calcutta, June 23, 1897, p. 389. On Sept. 13, 1897 (*Ibid.*, p. 877) some one wrote: "A new tower has sprung up in the Bandel Church, in place of the one demolished by the earthquake, with wonderful rapidity. It is a vast improvement on the old one, rendering the famous statue of Our Lady of Happy Voyage, which is canopied under it, more easily approachable, and setting it out to greater advantage. The statue itself, which was considerably damaged, has been thoroughly renovated, and was solemnly blessed on the Feast of the Nativity of Our Blessed Lady.... The repairs to the steeple of the Church are also rapidly approaching completion. Father da Silva... is to be congratulated on having been able to retain the antiquarian time-honoured steeple, which no one would have been pleased to see replaced by the handsomest structure, its antiquity rendering it invaluable. Regarding the stability of the old steeple, about which some despondent remarks were made a short time ago by a correspondent of the *Englishman*, there is no apprehension, the opinion of more than one professional man having been obtained...."

A correspondent wrote (*Ibid.*, Nov. 17, 1897, p. 1093): "The late earthquake had completely destroyed the tower at the south entrance of the Church, and injured the much venerated statue of Our Lady of Happy Voyage which stood under its arch. It was gratifying to find that not only had a new tower been erected and the statue completely renovated, but a neat little balcony had been added, which now enables the faithful to have a front view of the figure, and to kneel before it for their devotions, instead of, as before, at its back. The Church also, which was considerably damaged, has been thoroughly repaired; the main altar has been very much improved by the extension of the platform, and two statues, one of Our Lady of Lourdes and another of St. Joseph, the gift of a pious family at Howrah, have been placed on each side of the altar. A new statue of Our Lady of Dolours has replaced the old one... The Augustinian Hall and other buildings attached to the Church still remain to be repaired...."



THE SAO PAULO GARDEN OF THE JESUITS, BANDEL.



EAST CORRIDOR OF THE CONVENT, BANDEL.

Evening.— In the afternoon we went back to the São Paulo garden and dug again. One of the masons now employed on the excellent repairs and improvements going on under the Prior's directions, accompanied us during off-time. His technical knowledge proved very useful. We dug at what yesterday we thought to be a corner of the wall and found that we had struck a corner, indeed. We dug both South and North of it and discovered, on the South side only, a wall about 3 ft. broad at right angles to the previous one. We followed it for a length of 17 ft. up to the roots of a coconut-tree.

WEDNESDAY, January 7.—1 P. M. While I was busy on the Registers, Salku and Saudágar were very busy renewing the handles of their kudális and pickaxe. They had received strict orders to be ready by 8-30 A.M., but they could not start before 10-15. So much for their punctuality and so much the worse for my friends of St. Xavier's College whom I expect to-morrow on a visit to our excavations.

We did very little to-day. A new wall running southwards from the wall excavated on Monday and parallel to the one discovered yesterday, came into view about 42 ft. away from the latter. Very mysterious. And I am afraid this was not the *girjā*, but the *ghar* of the Fathers, as Fr. Rodrigues supposes.

We explored in other directions. I spoke last Monday of a road (?) running from East to West across the garden. I found it littered with bricks to the North almost on the whole of its length. A few strokes of the pickaxe revealed a brick wall 1'4" broad which must run almost the whole length of our so-called road. Some 50 ft. across to the North, lie other bricks and another wall is perhaps concealed on that side. However, these could not have been the walls of the Church; walls of 1'4" might be at most thick enough for a house or some garden-wall. At 11. A. M. I stopped the work with the conclusion that with 2 kudális and a pickaxe and the little time at my disposal I could not expect on this occasion to unravel the mysteries of the São Paulo garden. But, we have found enough, I think. We are on the way. We shall but have to lay the matter before the Calcutta Historical Society, and the Eastern Circle of the Archaeological Department, to which I addressed myself already once in 1911, may be moved to relent.

At the garden-gate whom did we meet? The *māli* and the *darwān* of the tenant of the garden. The *darwān* had been sent to bolt the door against any intruders and to tell the strange Pádrī to desist from his work. Very well. We know enough. But, I must write to the tenant in the name of history and archæology, branches of learning for which he ought to feel the deepest reverence, to come and pay me a visit at the Convent.

Before going, we took the measurements of the southern wall and found it to be 437 ft. long. This shows the breadth of the garden, for the other dimension must be greater.

5 P.M.—What pagans we are! We have not gone yet to pray before the statue of Our Lady of Happy Voyage, Nossa Senhora de Boa Viagem, over the portico of the Church. A winding iron staircase near the Prior's sleeping room takes us to the terrace over the cloisters. From there to the terrace of the eastern aisle of the Church it is plain sailing. Another staircase, and we are on an iron-railed balcony boldly projecting from the façade of the Church, in front of the statue. The statue appears to be old. People make to it as many vows as they do to that of Our Lady of the Rosary.¹ The white marble niche is new. It was

(19) "Dedicated to Our Blessed Lady of Happy Voyage / by her devout client *Mrs. Daisy Emma Hill*, / Lady Patroness, Bandel Church in 1910. / (*Swaries Bros. Allahabad*.) /

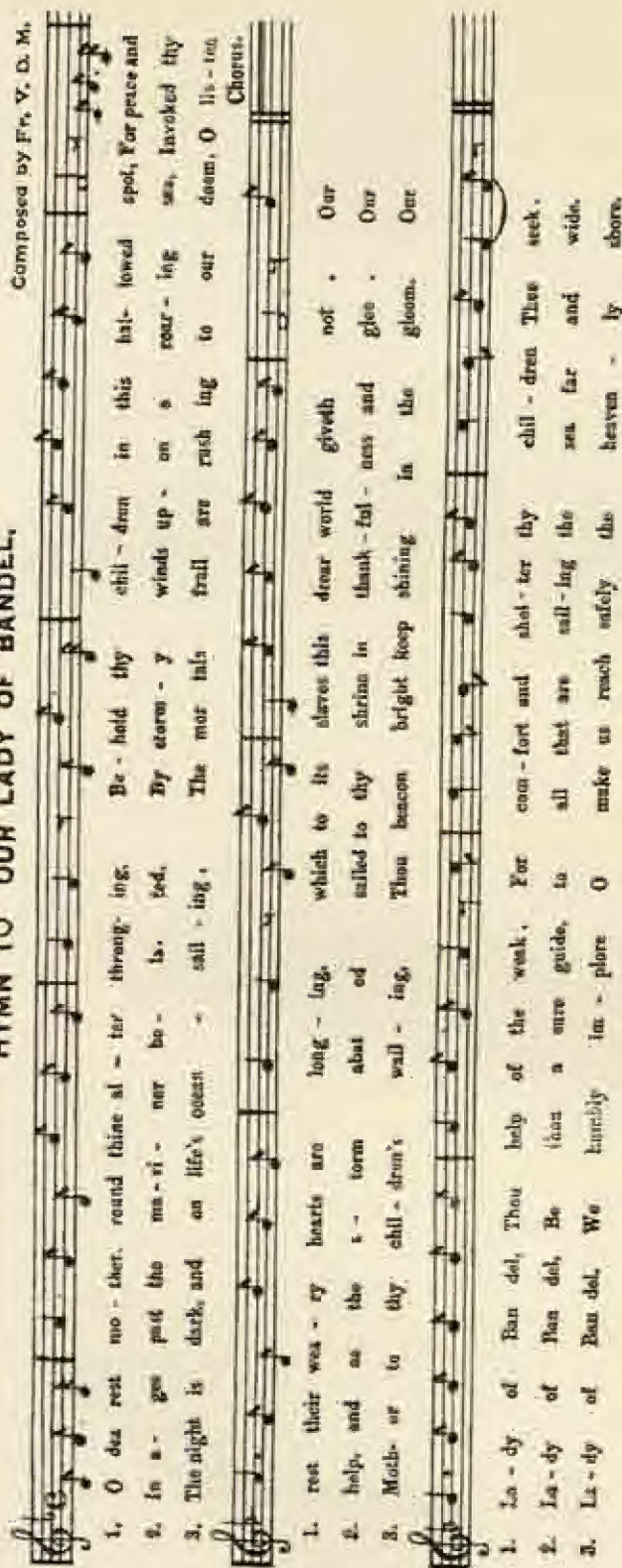
There exists a hymn to Our Lady of Bandel composed by the Rev. Fr. A. Van de Mergel, S. J., which is sung here on days of great pilgrimages. We pray in the words of the hymn:

4. Along the path of life, so steep and dreary,
We pilgrims struggle over crag and dale,
And footsore, often linger weak and weary.
We fall and rise, and then again we fall.
Our Lady of Bandel,
Our help and our stay,
The wayfarers strengthen
Who fall on the way.
5. These walls have seen the enemy oppressing
A peaceful flock, as would a raging flood;
The Christians here, with joy their faith confessing,
The river crimsoned with the martyrs' blood.
Our Lady of Bandel,
O make, if need be,
That we too may suffer,
For Jesus and Thee.

¹ I think many people are under the impression that the Church is dedicated to Our Lady of Happy Voyage, instead of to Our Lady of the Rosary, which is its real title. On the *Hughly River Survey Map* of 1686, it is called the Church of Our Lady of Good Voyage. The title of Our Lady of Good or Happy Voyage is not a liturgical one; it is something coming from popular devotion. Built in 1831-37, at a time when Manila men were many in Howrah, and communications with Rome were fewer than now, the Church of Howrah was also dedicated to Our Lady of Happy Voyage, but Archbishop Goethals, I am told, never obtained a formal approbation nor a special feast. He was told to fix for the titular feast a day to the people's convenience. The Office is merely that of the feast of the B. V. M. These points were fixed at Archbishop Goethals' last visit to Rome in 1900. The feast at Howrah is celebrated independently from that of Bandel, which latter falls in May.

HYMN TO OUR LADY OF BANDEL,

Composed by FR. V. D. M.



THURSDAY, January 8.—Visit from the tenant of the Saó Paolo garden, a young man in coat and trousers and Bihári cap, an up-to-date Hindú or Indian altogether.

—Well? What about the Saó Paolo garden?

—I have no objection to your laying bare the walls of the Church, but from your letter I understand that you wish to remove the bones of the holy Fathers buried there.

—Yes, the bones of Bishop Laines, if we can find and identify them. They ought to rest in the Murghihátá Cathedral, with those of our later Bishops.

—But, I object to that. We should not disturb the holy remains of those venerable Fathers. It might bring ill-luck on our family.

—Why, is that all? And are you, a Hindú in coat and trousers, shoe-leather and gold watch-chain, going to be superstitious?

—Our shástrás, you see...

—Yes, your shástrás. Have you read them? They speak of *sati* and burning corpses and throwing the ashes into the waters of your holy Ganges. What have they to say about the burying of Europeans?

—I believe in spirits...

—I also.

—The spirits of those holy Fathers may haunt us, if we interfere with their resting-place.¹

—Nonsense! The spirits of those holy Fathers cannot but be good. What harm would they do you? I am one of the same cloth as they. Don't you see what a harmless being I am? If the spirits of those holy Fathers are bad, the sooner you remove their bones the better, for they ought to be very angry with you and with all of us for having left them so many years unhonoured and unsung. Didn't your father disturb their last resting-place when he took away the bricks of the ruins and sold them? The family seems to have thriven since.

—I have a house in Hugli and it is haunted. Ghosts are flitting to and fro in the dark across the rooms, and stones are continually flung on the roof.

—I know about those stones. If I had only the time, I might come to your place and help you to find out how it is managed.

—But, haven't you read about Napoleon, how the English would not let his remains be carried to France?

¹ The expression "holy Fathers" which he used may be a survival of "Padre Santo", which was heard beyond the fifties of last century and is perhaps heard still in parts of Bengal, as a form of addressing or speaking of Catholic Priests. I suggest that "Padre Santos' Cemetery" at Agra, means the cemetery "of the holy [Jesuit] Fathers," not "of Father Santucci," one of them; but then, we should write "Padres Santos' Cemetery."

—Political reasons, my dear D.N.P.! Political reasons! Don't you see that the Parisians would have gone mad simply at the idea that the bones of the dear little man of Waterloo were coming back to them from so far? You mention Napoleon. Let me speak of Columbus. His remains have rested in three or four different places already, one town after another proving its superior claim to the honour of possessing them. And now the Americans would give a mountain of gold to get them to Panama

—What will our priests say?

—What religion do you belong to?

—My uncle is a Theosophist.

—And yourself?

—I am to be enrolled.

—Well then, ask Mrs. Annie Besant to settle your case of conscience. She is an intelligent woman, much too clever, in fact, for you Hindús. I shall not go on with the work just now. I have no time. But I may lay the matter before the proper authorities.

—Very well. When you wish to come again, please let me know.

—Good-bye.

My friends of Calcutta did not come, after all. They announced the arrival of some of their friends from Trichinopoly, which kept them back in Calcutta.

Evening.—In the evening, the Very Rev. Fr. Prior drove me through Hugli to Chinsura. Beyond the Bridge, on the edge of the river, he pointed to what he and others suppose to have been a Portuguese Fort.

I wish to protest against the notion that the Portuguese ever had a fort at Hugli or at Bandel. This idea finds expression in every book on Hugli and must be disposed of.

Pyrard de Laval, who was at Chittagong in 1607, though he did not come to Hugli, writes: "A large number of Portuguese dwell in freedom at the ports of this coast of Bengal; they are also very free in their lives, being like exiles. They do only traffic, without any fort, order or police, and live like natives of the country."¹ As he adds that they had no clergy, it might be argued that, since there were Priests at Hugli, he refers to the Chittagong coast. But, it is likely that he had before him the writings of an earlier author, van Linschoten, who is more explicit. "The Portingalles deale and traffique thether, and some places are inhabited by them, as the havens which they call Porto Grande [Chittagong], and Porto Pequeno, that is, the great haven and the little haven, but there are no Fortes, nor any government, nor police, as in [Portuguese] India (they

¹ Pyrard de Laval (Hakluyt edn.), I. 334.



RUINS OF THE SO-CALLED PORTUGUESE FORT, HUGLI.



THE ARMENIAN CHURCH, CHINSURA (North Side.)

have), but live in a manner like wild men, and untamed horses, for that every man doth what hee will, and every man is Lord (and maister), neither esteeme they any thing of justice, whether there be any or none, and in this manner doe certayne Portingalles dwell among them, some here, some there (scattered abroad), and are for the most part such as dare not stay in India for some wickednesse by them committed."¹ If it is still objected that van Linschoten was in India between 1583 and 1589 only, and that a fort might have been erected at Hugli by the Portuguese between 1589 and 1632, the year of the siege, we answer that this is negatived by Fr. Joaô Cabral, who was at the siege and states that, as the Portuguese had never anticipated such an eventuality, they had made no provision for it. They were without any sort of defence. It would have been equally correct to say that the Moorish government had never allowed them to erect a fort, which was to be expected. When the Portuguese in 1632 saw that their flight down the river was cut off by the hostile fleet from Dacca, and that an army was approaching from the North, they erected lines of barricades and palisades and threw up embankments and lay in the trenches. "The town," says Manrique, "was situated in an open plain along the banks of the Ganges, and was exposed on all sides. It had neither wall nor rampart, but only an earthen embankment which they had thrown up, a thing of little value and still lesser strength." Faria y Sousa says the same. The wonder is how with such a feeble protection as an earth wall they could hold out so long against a powerful army guided by some treacherous Portuguese engineers and gunners. The defence of Calcutta in 1756 dwindles into insignificance before the feats of prowess achieved by the Portuguese of Hugli. Their stubborn resistance during three months is one of the finest pages in their history, but that page is not published yet, though it lies half ready for publication.

What is called the Hugli Fort must have been a Muhammadan fort, destroyed by the Portuguese in 1603, since it could not have been the fort or factory of the Dutch, nor that of the English, nor that of the Muhammadans which the English destroyed in 1756, the position of all these forts being accounted for.

The capture of a Moorish fort in 1603 is mentioned in several of our books on Hugli, such as Toynbee and O'Malley, but the reference and the details are wanting. The writer who first referred to the fact, the Rev. J. Long, was probably quoting from a Latin author, since the hero on this occasion is called Cervalius, corrupted to Cervalius. His name was Domingo Carvalho, and we have the story through the Jesuit letters in

¹ van Linschoten (Hakluyt edn.), I. 95.

Father du Jarric, *Troisième partie des choses plus mémorables...*, III. pp. 861-862.

"Carvalho.... went from Siripur [on the side of Chittagong] to Goli or Gullo [Hugli], which is like a colony of the Portuguese up the river, where is the small port [Porto Pequeno] called of Bengala, and situated 50 leagues from it,¹ in order to reinforce himself, his intention being to attack the men of the King of Aracan and recover the Island of Sundiva. Being there, he met with another happy encounter, one not less happy than the previous ones. For to check the more the Portuguese, since long settled in that colony, which counted about five thousand inhabitants, the Moors who hold that country wished to make them pay new tributes and imposts. Accordingly, they built at that time near the said place a fortress along the river and placed in it a garrison of four hundred Mogorese [Moghul] soldiers, who strangely ill-treated and tyrannized the Christians born in the country. For, when the Christians passed with their ships in the river, they robbed them and even killed several, their cruelties being such as to baffle description. Wishing therefore to do the same with Dominique Carvalho, when he passed before their fortress with his thirty Jaleas, those who were inside began by discharging upon them plenty of arquebuzes. Unable to bear such an affront, Carvalho quickly jumped ashore with 80 Portuguese soldiers, and in no time he seized the gate of the fortress, while some others scaled the walls. Such was the slaughter that of the four hundred soldiers inside only one, a Caffre, escaped, and that through a channel [French: *canal*]."²

We find indeed in the *Batavia Dagb Register* for 1664, p. 594, that the Governor of Hugli objected to stone fortresses being built by the Dutch, as the English and the Portuguese had done,³ but it may be doubted whether he referred to the Portuguese at Hugli or elsewhere. If the Portuguese had had a fort at Hugli, it would have been constructed after 1632, and this we cannot admit without further proof. Some have even written that the Portuguese built a fort under Sampayo in 1537.⁴ Others, taking it for granted that the

¹ The "Small Port" or "Porto Pequeno" is here said to be 50 leagues from Hugli. This agrees with what Fr. Fernandes says in his letter of Jan. 14, 1599, that they took 8 days going from the "Portos" above the Braces to Gullum [Hugli], the distance from the mouth of the "Ganges" to Gullum being 210 [1] miles. An *Itinerario* containing piloting directions, published in an edition of van Linschoten, Amsterdam, Evert Cloppenburg, 1638, and in Pl. II of van Linschoten's *Itinerario, ofte schipvaart*, Amsterdam, 1596, has a chapter (XI) headed thus: *Navigatie & cours des Indes à Porto Pequeno de S. Iago à l'entrée du fleuve Ganges au Royaume de Bengala*. This would place Porto Pequeno above the Braces. On the other hand, there is no doubt that Ralph Fitch in 1588 applies the term Porto Pequeno to Hugli.

² Quoted from W. Irvine in Manucci's *Storia do Mogor*, IV. 429.

³ This last statement is utterly unhistorical. Cf. O'Malley, *Hughly* (Gazetteer), pp. 45-47. Sampayo went to Gaur up the Meghna and the Ganges. Diogo Rebello came to Sitgāw in 1535. Cf. *Hakluyt-Fisham*, 2. v. Satigam (1st edn., p. 854.)

Portuguese had a fort at the site I have mentioned, have even concluded that the moat around it may have led travellers to call Hugli an island.¹ Not a mere moat, but at least a couple of rivers, such as the Hugli and the old bed of the Saraswati, would have been required to justify the use of the word "island."² Besides, what traces of a moat are there?

We arrived at Chinsura about 5 P.M. Beyond the wall of what has ceased to be the property of the Maharāja of Burdwan, on both sides of a narrow lane, is a Church. Nearer the river, the Armenian Church; on the other side, the Catholic Chapel. Our first visit was to the other side. A small insignificant gate admits us into a court-yard about 2 ft. below the level of the lane. We are before the Chapel. We cannot well call it by the name of Church, so small is it. Above the door is the date of its foundation: 1740. We know from Asiaticus that it was built by Mrs. Sebastiana Shaw, the same lady who in 1720 enlarged the Murghhātā Church which preceded the present one. She is buried in the Murghhātā Church; at least her inscription is there, with the date of her death, 1735.

Asiaticus tells us that before 1740 Chinsura had a chapel of mats and straw. The Chapel of 1740 was dedicated to Jesus Maria Jose, and the small two-storied building running East to West up to the walls of the Chapel was called the Hermitage of the Infant Jesus (*do Menino Jesus*), for its occupants were Hermits of St. Augustine. I have learned some interesting facts already about them through the Bandel Registers; still, I could not say whether they had had a hermitage here before 1740. For many years this hermitage has now been untenanted. The handful of Christians left are occasionally visited by the Vicar of Bandel. The place looks quite ruinous; saltpetre is continually eating away the plaster of the pillars of the verandahs. Saltpetre is a destructive agent in Bandel, too, and I was told that the walls of the aisles of the Bandel Church were covered with fully 5 inches of plaster. Opposite to the Hermitage, against the wall, lies a heap of rubbish which might have been carted away, but was not, to save expense.

We enter the Church. Only one altar, above which we see the statue of Our Lady and of St. Joseph. *O menino Jesus* is not now between them in the place of honour, as he ought to be, and that for a domestic reason, his

¹ The statement "Hugli, an island made by the Ganges, has several thousand Portuguese Christians in it," is attributed by the Rev. J. Long to Bruton (1632) in *Sel. from the Calcutta Review*, Vol. II, Aug-Jan. 1882, p. 79; but I cannot find it in Bruton's *A Voyage to Bengal*. It is one of scores of mistakes in Long's article. Bruton did not come to Hugli. Can the statement be found in any other author, or is there question of the "island" of Angelim (Hijili)?

² For a note on the old bed of the Saraswati and a photo, cf. *Bengal Past & Present*, Vol. II, Part I, 1908, p. 116.

pretty dress of gold brocade having become too shabby. On the Gospel side, St. Anthony; on the Epistle side, a Saint holding a book, possibly, St. Augustine.

Though the Bandel Registers show that many were buried in the Chinsura Church, there are only two inscriptions, quite modern ones, one dated 1836, the other 1855. I copied the older one.

(6 ll. of Armenian) / Sacred / to The Memory / of / *Sarhad Leon, Esqr.* / Who Departed / This Life On The / 4th September 1836 / Aged 70 Years /

He must have been a relative of Miss Anna Maria Leon and Mr. Leon Sarhad whose inscriptions I noticed under Bandel. Possibly, we may connect him with Khwājah Sarhad of whom we hear so much in C. R. Wilson's *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*,¹ and Mesroby J. Seib's *History of the Armenians in India*.

The second inscription runs thus: Sacred to the memory of *Captain Prudence Michel* of His Majesty the King of the Netherlands' Service, and Commandant of the Forces at Chinsurah, who died on the 1st of June 1838, aged 73 years 7 months and 20 days: deservedly regretted by his numerous friends and relatives, whose exemplary life was a pattern for all. Buried in the same grave with his daughter, *Mrs. Emilie Christina Magdeline Van Helsdingen*, and his grand-children, *John Henry Prudence* and *Matilda Christina Van Helsdingen*. This inscription for the above is given in affectionate love and remembrance by the grand-daughter of Captain Prudence Michel, *Miss Maria Caroline Barber*, who dedicates it to their memory in January 1853.²

In the centre of the curvature topping the Chapel, right under the Cross, there hangs a bell; another bell hangs a little lower in another opening in the wall. Bells generally carry upon them their history. Our historians in India overlook too much this well-known fact. We went to the terrace above the Chapel. The lower bell had no inscription. A bit of a ladder allowed me to reach the second. After poking my head through the niche as far as I could and tilting the bell up and down, I could read only IOAN NICOLAVS DERCK.....A^o: 1734. Feeling with my fingers for the other letters did not succeed. I could not read blindfolded thus. I tilted the bell up again with all my might at the risk of bringing her down with myself, had I unhinged her from the rotten wooden sockets in the wall, and this is what I read: ME FECIT HORNÆ. A Dutch bell then, cast at Hourn; a Calvinistic bell, perhaps; now a Catholic bell. Did she change hands?

Was there no Cemetery around the Chapel? No. And there could have been none. The ground, on which the Chapel and the Hermitage stand, is

¹ CL Indexes of Vols. I, II.

² Cf. C. R. Wilson, *List of Inscriptions*, p. 125.

much too small for it. It did not even afford a plot for a garden, at least if we judge from the walls which now enclose it.

I am not a little disappointed with Father Tieffentaller's plan of Tschvzvra (1765). In the right top corner appears a house to which access is obtained by an outer gate surmounted by a cross. A religious monument evidently I had always taken it for the Catholic Chapel of Chinsura. Now that I have seen the reality, I can hardly say what it might stand for. All I can say is that it does not resemble the Armenian Church more than the Catholic one. I prefer to think that Fr. Tieffentaller intended it to be a representation of the Augustinian Hermitage, which is two-storied, while the Chapel is not; but then he has inverted the orientation from East-West to South-North, for the sake of perspective. Altogether, the plan looks fanciful, for it does not show the pillars of the verandah of both stories. Fr. Tieffentaller's plan of Bandel is also somewhat fanciful. He was not a draughtsman. We should bear it in mind when we examine his many other plans. His maps are better, perhaps, than his plans.

On the other side of the lane, we pay a visit to the Armenian Church. The only Armenian now living in Chinsura, the sacristan, is gone to Calcutta. We shall not be able to see the interior of the Church to-day. There were other things worth seeing. The date over the door of the Church is 1695. This makes of it the oldest Church of Bengal after Bandel, and perhaps after the Church of Nagori, Bhawal, near Dacca, which bears the date 1664, it is said. But I have misgivings about the date of that Church, and think it ought to be 1694, if not later, for Frei Ambrosio de S. Agostinho, who was Prior at Nagori (1726), places the beginning of that Mission in 1695.¹

Under the portico, in the two verandahs, and outside in the compound, lies a wealth of Armenian inscriptions. The greater number of them look quite old; but, as some of the Armenian families of Calcutta continue to bury here, you find also some modern bilingual inscriptions (Armenian and English). I counted 126 Armenian inscriptions, of which 13 bilingual ones (English and Armenian). The oldest inscription is that of John Marcos who died in 1697. It lies under the portico and is a fine specimen of Armenian calligraphy. Below it appear 5 lines in Portuguese, a unique case in this cemetery. I deciphered them thus: AQVI IAZ IOAO / MARCOS AR- / MENIO DA NAS/SAO AÑO / 1697. / (Here lies João Marcos, an Armenian by nationality, 1697.)

Only 10 of these 126 inscriptions have been translated by Wilson. What about the rest? We should not cease repeating it: the history of the Armenians will remain a blank, as it now is, so long as our *Obituaries* go on neglecting their tombstones. The Armenians in India do not know

¹ J. H. da Cunha Rivara, *O Chronista de Tisavary*, Goa, 1857, p. 58. Nagori is not mentioned in a list of Churches for Bengal in 1682.

their own history. They seem to take no interest in such matters. Who then will take it in hand? As merchants, as soldiers, as statesmen, they have had in India a very checkered and brilliant career. It is a shame to their nation that even the humblest European epitaphs are copied, published, studied, and preserved by the British Government, whilst theirs are overlooked. And why? It is their own fault. Is it so difficult to find in their community a scholar who would set out, under Government auspices, on a mission of exploration through the length and breadth of India, making of it, not a good bargain, but a labour of love? It is by hundreds that he would discover Armenian inscriptions. I know more than a hundred in Pádras Santos' Cemetery at Agra. There are some at Patna, some at Bandel, one at Chandernagar, a score or two at Teshánw (Dacca), 20 at Haiderábád (Deccan),¹ some at Saidábád near Murahidábád, 11 in the Murghihátá Cathedral. Every old capital, every vanished emporium should yield some. We pass them by simply because we cannot read them. Can so wealthy a community as the Armenians not patronise such a worthy object? Then why is it not done? Will they go on for ever immersed in pleasure-seeking and money-making, without a minute to look back upon their past?²

If such a work were undertaken, it would be a matter of much surprise to the Armenians in particular that in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries many of the Armenians in India were Catholics. They had hardly any priests of their own nationality at hand. At Agra, Lahore, Patna, Pegu, Madras, Penang, etc., many, if not most, conformed to the Catholic religion, prayed in our Churches, received the Sacraments from the hands of our Missionaries, died in communion with Rome, and were buried in our cemeteries.³ This explains how absurd, because so unhistorical, it was on

¹ *J. A. S. B.*, 1907, pp. 595-598. For an Armenian inscription at Penang, cf. C. R. Wilson's *Inscriptions*, p. 63, No. 229. It is taken from Mesrobs J. Seth's book.

² I must make an honourable exception to my strictures in favour of Mr. Mesrobs J. Seth, the author of *History of the Armenians in India*, Calcutta, 1895, and a member of our Society. He appears to have followed the footsteps of his compatriots to their last resting-places at Agra, Gwalior, Surat, Bombay, Haiderabad (Deccan), Patna, Saidabad, Chandernagar, Chinsura, Calcutta, Dacca, Teshánw, etc., and to have copied all the inscriptions on the way. But, what has become of most of them? The greater number must be still in MS. I hope these lines will meet his attention and urge him to do the needful. Many new materials for his study have become available too of late years. His discovery of an Armenian inscription in the Armenian graveyard, Calcutta, dated in the year 15 [New Era of Julia=1630 A. D.] is too curious to be convincing. Does the first figure in the date admit of no doubt? A photograph of the inscription could alone satisfy the public at large. C. R. Wilson has other suggestions. Cf. *Early Annals of the English*, I, 137 n. 3.

³ Bishop Norzi writes to his brother from Siriant, near Rangoon (March 15, 1754). "The Armenians have made choice of me for their Pastor and Father in Christ, so that through God's blessing none of them has died without first professing the Catholic and Roman faith." Cf. *The Voice*, Rangoon, 1913, p. 126.

the part of a group of Armenians of Agra, schismatics or renegades to Muhammadanism, to claim as their own the Catholic Cemetery of Agra where their ancestors were buried. This they did in the beginning of the 19th century. Happily English justice did not commit itself to a blunder.¹ It explains how not a few Armenian families are Catholic to this day, or how some Armenian families are now split up in Catholic, "Orthodox" Armenian, and even Protestant branches.² It explains again the close fellow-feeling of the Orthodox Armenians for us Catholics. Only once a year is Mass now said in the Armenian Church of Chinsura, i.e., on January 26, the Feast of St. John the Baptist, to whom the Church is dedicated.³ On that occasion some 50 or 60 Armenians of Calcutta and elsewhere come to Chinsura, hear Mass, and I am told that after a fraternal agape in the Hall near the Sacristan's quarters they go in a body, priests and laymen, on a time-honoured, immemorial pilgrimage to our Lady of Bandel. There they fulfil their vows, burn blessed candles, offer money for Masses, ask for rosaries and pray out of Catholic books of devotion.

The Registers of Calcutta, Bandel and Chandernagar reveal the curious fact that about 1770 there were two Catholic Armenian Priests doing missionary work in these parts among their compatriots. One of them lived at Chinsura.

Padre Joab Armenio, or the Armenian, celebrated several marriages at Chinsura in 1771 and 1772, and baptized at Bandel on May 7th and October 22nd, 1776. On February 1st, 1779, he was buried at Chandernagar. Here is the interesting entry of his burial taken from the Chandernagar Registers. "On the first of February of the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine, I, Priest Curé undersigned, certify having buried in the Chapel of the Cemetery of this parochial Church of Saint Louis of Chandernagar, the body of late the R. R. F. F. Dom Jouan, Armenian Priest, of the Order of St. Anthony the first Hermit, Missionary Apostolic to the Armenians in India, "habitué" of this Church, commendable for his piety and charity and the great services he has rendered to the parish, aged about 77 or 78 years, who died to-day at Chinchurat, whence he was brought and presented at the door of this Church by the Rev. Fr. Joseph of the Eleven Thousand Virgins, Prior and Curé of the Bandel and of Chinchurat. Assisted at his burial: the Rev. Fr. Abraham, Armenian Priest; the Rev. Fr. Jean Gualbert, Superior of the Hospice of the Italian Capuchins of this Colony; Messieurs Nicolas, Labat,

¹ Cf. [Fr. Felix, O. C.] *Catholic Calendar and Directory for the Archdiocese of Agra...* for the year 1907, pp. 208-210.

² Some nowadays conform to the "fashionable" church.

³ Cf. Messrs J. Seth, *Hitt. of the Armenians in India*, p. 38.

Bedon, the Rev. Fr. Ferdinand, Capuchin, Vicaire of this parish, all of whom have signed the present deed with us on the aforesaid day and year.

[Sd.] *Fr. Joseph François, Capucin,*
Missionary Apostolic, Superior and Curé.

Father Abraham's full name was Abraham de S. Lourenço. He belonged also to the order of St. Anthony. In October 1770, March 1771, and February 1779 his name appears in the Baptism and Marriage Registers of the Murghihātā Cathedral. He died on September 20, 1782, and was buried within the (old) Murghihātā Church.¹

Some 5 minutes from the Catholic Chapel, to the west, there is a small garden now overgrown with jungle, which once served as a Catholic Cemetery. I ventured into it, in spite of the dark, and found only one masonry monument, a column without inscription, marking a grave. There may have been one or two more such monuments in the jungle; but, as I did not see any from where I stood, I went back, sufficiently satisfied that there was no work to be done.

FRIDAY, January 9.—It is very strange that no one has ever been tempted to make and publish a correct ground-plan of the Bandel Convent buildings. Having no practice of that sort of work, I spent at it about two hours this morning, but failed to obtain accurate results. My plan, good enough for private consultation, is unfit for publication. After taking the measurements of the Church, I went to the terrace and tried from there to complete roughly my design with the other buildings. What spoiled it, was the quadrangle within the cloisters. It looked irregular, but the amount of its irregularity was realized only after actual measurements, and then it was too late to begin my plan again. If one of the many clients of Our Lady of Bandel is possessed with some knowledge of surveying, let him come for a day or two to Bandel, and give us a good plan of these historic buildings; and his name will be remembered by a grateful posterity of antiquarians. The plan in the *Hooghly River Survey Map* (1886) is all too small and approximate.²

¹ The Antonians are a Congregation of orthodox Armenians founded during the 17th century at the time of the persecution of Catholic Armenians. Abram Atar Porezigh retired to the Lebanon with 3 companions and founded the monastery of the Most Holy Saviour under the protection of St. Anthony to supply members for mission work. A second foundation was made on Mount Lebanon and a third in Rome (1752) which was approved by Clement XIII. There are other religious orders in the East e.g. the Disciples of St. Anthony (Antonians) with a number of monasteries, claiming St. Anthony's rule, but in reality their rules date no further back than St. Basil. (*Catholic Encyclopedia*, New York, s. v. St. Anthony). In the time of Archbishop Carew (1841-55), some of these Basilians laboured among the Catholic Syrians and Armenians of Calcutta.

² The Prior of Bandel has 7 old maps of Bandel or Balagarh of different dates; but, as they are filed in Court since 1909, they were not available.

Meanwhile, here are some of my *outside* measurements. Quadrangle: S., 61 ft.; W., 82 ft.; N., 87 ft.; E., 92 ft. The Church, which is built N. and S., has the following measurements. Tower: 19' 11" x 18'; length of Church from entrance up to Sanctuary of High Altar: 110½ ft.; length of Sanctuary: 43' 4"; total breadth of Church: 54 ft.; of the aisles: 12' 10" (each); the breadth of the Sanctuary of the High Altar is therefore from outside end to outside end of the walls: 28' 4".

There are on the North side: a sacristy, 5 guest rooms, a dining room, a passage and a lumber room; 5 guest rooms on the E. side, and rooms for the Prior on the South. St. Augustine's Hall on the North-East corner contains a large hall, three rooms and a pleasant verandah on the river-side. In the garden adjoining St. Augustine's Hall, N. E., there is an old bungalow, also at the disposal of the pilgrims. The basement of St. Augustine's Hall is now being adapted for more pilgrim accommodation. A small balustraded platform at the East gate near St. Augustine's Hall is used by the musicians who come here on festal occasions and serenade the pilgrims.

Evening.—My work on the Registers leaves me some leisure for discussing several points of local history which need rectifying.

Take, for instance, the origin of the name Hugli. Scholars have repeatedly searched the Portuguese historians for allusions to the name prior to 1578. Before 1578, Hugli was not a permanent Portuguese settlement. Until then, *i. e.*, from the end of the second decade of the 16th century, if not earlier, since they had carried their conquests to Malacca in 1510, the Portuguese visited Sâtganw. Their largest ships in Caesar de' Federici's time (1563-81) stopped at Betor, in the modern city of Howrah, between the Sibpur Engineering Collage and the Botanical Gardens.¹ The earliest form of the name Hugli, which I know of, is in Ralph Fitch, where it is spelt Hugeli (1588). It occurs under the form *Goli* in the map of Father Anthony Monserrate's *Mongolica Legationis Commentarius*.² This Commentary was completed in 1590, but the map may be a later addition. Anyhow, it is not later than 1600.³ There we find successively, as we come up the Hugli: *Gallorum Insula* (Cocks' Isle), *Ragera*, *Bethor*, *Goli* and *Satagam*. In the Jesuit letters of 1598-99, collected by Fr. Nicholas Pimenta, S. J., we meet the forms *Gullum*, *Gullensaz* (the people of Gullum), *Templum Gullanum* (the Church of Gullum). du Jarric translating the same letters adopts *Gullo* or *Gullum*, (cf. French

¹ Cf. C. R. Wilson, *Note on the Topography of the River in the 16th Century from Hugli to the Sea as represented in the 'Du Asie' of de Barros*, J. A. S. B., 1892, p. 111.

² Cf. *Memoirs Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. III, No. 9 (1914).

³ (I think the form *Goli* will be found in Jesuit letters of 1580-82. Monserrate's rough MS. was in existence in 1582; but, as the name *Goli* comes only in the map, we fix 1600 as the latest possible date, since Monserrate died that year.)

edn., I, 606). The *Ain-i-Akbari*, which Abul Fazl completed in 1596-97, says: "In the Sarkār of Sâtgaon there are two ports at a distance of half a kos from each other: the one is Sâtgaon, the other Hugli; the latter, the chief; both are in possession of the Europeans (Firinghis)."¹

On January 4, 1608, we hear of the *Bandel do Porto Pequeno*, in Bengal, i. e., very likely, Hugli.² Boccarro's *Decada 13 da Historia da India*, which covers the period 1612-17, speaks of *d' Ogolim*, *de Golim*, *Dogolim* (of the Golim),³ "to go to *Ogolim*" or "*a Golim*," i. e., (the Golim),⁴ (*se tornou para Ogolim* or *a Golim*), *no Ogolim* (in the Ogolim)⁵, a resident in the Ugulim (*morador no Ugulim*).⁶ Faria y Sousa speaks under date 1633 (read: 1632) of the sack of *Golin*. Similarly, Hughes and Parker in their letters from Patna (1620) speak of *Gollye*.⁷

The derivation of Hugli from *kogla* (*Typha elephantina*), a tall reed which grows in abundance on the river banks and in the marshy lowlands below them, a derivation proposed by Prof. H. Blochmann (*J. A. S. B.*, 1873, p. 217n., after *Proc. A. S. B.*, 1868, p. 267) takes no account of the earlier forms of the name. According to this explanation, Golim would be a corruption of Hugli or Hughli; whereas we consider that it is the reverse, Hugli being a corruption of *a Golim*, *a Goli* (the Golim, the Goli).⁸ It is more likely that the name is derived from *golā*, the "store-house" erected by the Portuguese. A process of nazalisation very common with the Portuguese accounts for the fact that hundreds of place-names on the West Coast, and particularly near Goa, end in *im*. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. *Cochin*. The only difficulty felt for this derivation is that we must pass through a feminine derivative (*goli*) of *golā* (granary), which the dictionaries at my disposal do not give. What appears to be a simpler derivation is suggested by the following passage in F. Wilford's *A Comparative Essay on the Ancient Geography of India* (*J. A. S. B.*, 1851, p. 471): "*Sugala* in Sanskrit signifies the fair way passage; in Hindi *Su-Cali* or *Col* signifies the

¹ Col. Jarrett, II, 125.

² *Collecção de Monumentos Inéditos*, Tom. VIII., *Docum. rematados da India*, p. 176.

³ *Ibid.*, Tom. VI., 12. serie, *Hist. da Asia*, Lisboa, 1876, p. 445.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 476.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 522.

⁶ L. S. S. O'Malley, *Hooghly*, pp. 53-54; *J. A. S. B.*, 1910, p. 509.

⁷ Angelin for Hijili is an example for Bengal.

⁸ L. S. S. O'Malley, *Hooghly*, p. 48, states that the village of Hooghly is mentioned in a Bengali poem of 1495 but his reference: *J. A. S. B. Proc.*, 1892, p. 183, leads to nothing.

The name *Goli* still survives, perhaps, in Golghat. The derivation *gol* (circular) and *ghat* (landing stage), from the fact that there was a semi-circular cove, South of the Imāmbāra, should take precedence, if we found it to be earlier than *Goli*. Cf. L. S. S. O'Malley, *Hooghly*, p. 271. But, *Goli-galli* or *gali*—narrow pass, would be appropriate for that part of the river now crossed by the Jubilee Bridge.

fair, or safe creek, also a narrow passage. In English *Gully* or *Gully-hole*, in French *Goulet*, from the Latin *Gula*, the throat. *Galá* in Hindī is the throat, and *Gal*, a narrow pass or lane (pron. *Golf* in Bengall).¹ Whether we derive the word from *galá* (*golf*?) or from *gall*, *galli*, the modern spelling should be Hugli rather than Hughli, and I have patronized it accordingly in this article.¹

Quite a number of other misstatements occur with reference to Bandel, in particular to Frei João da Cruz and his connection with the 777 bighás. We gave above the key to the riddle; but, to dispose once for all of most of these statements, for I overlook some purposely, we must quote them *in extenso*, so that it may appear how fact and fancy are intermingled, and how mistakes have overlapped one another.

The oldest version of Frei João da Cruz' story that I am able to find is that of Frei João de S. Nicolaó, Prior of Bandel between 1782 and the end of 1784, as the Bandel Registers show. He wrote from Goa (February 28, 1785) —

"...This privilege was granted us on the occasion of the wonderful occurrence which I proceed to relate, and the remembrance of which is still fresh in the memory of the people there. When the Emperor sent against the Portuguese the 18 Nababos with the large army of which I spoke, [p. 20] he ordered not only to put to the sword the said Portuguese, but also to destroy and seize all the Christians, especially the Fathers. Those of them [of the Fathers?] who could, fled with the Portuguese, while the one who remained in Hougul was seized and taken to the Emperor's presence at Dely; and as the Cacizes laid the chief blame on him, he was ordered to be cast before one of the Emperor's fiercest elephants, the Emperor wishing that the execution should take place in his presence in the very court of his palace.

"The sentence was executed; and, while the Emperor thought the spectacle would not last half an hour, the prodigy, to the great admiration of all, lasted a whole afternoon (? evening, *huma tarde inteira*). The elephant, instead of wreaking his wanted ferocity on the said Father, continued all that time to turn around him, trumpeting fiercely, driving off with his proboscis the multitude that surrounded him, and preventing them from coming near him. This occurrence made the Emperor realize that the Father was not only innocent, but a man of God. He called him to his presence, and told him he was not only free, but acknowledged to be a holy

¹ I asked a Portuguese gentleman to pronounce *Golim*, *Ogulim*, *Ugulim*. I wanted to see whether he would make the *o* short or long. He made it short, and would have been surprised to hear that Hughes and Parker (1620) made it short too, as is clear from their spelling it *Gallye*. Since the *e* in *gold* is long, my simple experiment would leave only F. Willford's explanation standing. In fact the *e* appears to have been pronounced so short that it has dropped out of our "Hugli." The *u* in Hugli would represent the Portuguese definite article *a*.

man; hence, he might ask him whatever boon he wished, for he was prepared to gratify him in everything.

"The Father answered that he desired only the liberty and release of his Christians, and a place where he might live with them without being oppressed by the Nababos, his vassals. The Emperor presently ordered to grant him a *Formão* or writ signed with his own hand and sealed with his royal seal, bestowing on him 760 *vigas* of land in a place left to the Father's choice. The land would be subject to his officers only in cases punishable with death, and this the Father himself asked, such matters being contrary and repugnant to the Church's jurisdiction. These 760 *vigas* were selected in the Bandel..."¹

We must argue that there are too many improbabilities against Frei Joáo da Cruz' journey to Northern India to allow us to accept it on the mere strength of a popular story. The reader will recollect these improbabilities. In this instance, the tradition mentions Delhi as the place where the execution was to take place. Now, the Emperor was at Agra in 1633, and, as he did not build his palace of Delhi till 1638-48 and did not make the change of capital from Agra to Delhi till 1648, it is clear that the tradition, as voiced by Frei Joáo de S. Nicolaó, had lost sight of the fact that Agra was at one time the capital. How many years after the events must the story have been told as above to explain so serious a slip of memory? And yet only 152 years had intervened between 1632 and 1784. Let it be also remarked that this version of the story sends to "Dely" Frei Joáo da Cruz only, whereas, if according to Fr. Cabral, S. J., there were only four Augustinians at Hugli, Frei Joáo da Cruz was the *only one* who was not sent to Agra, for one of the Augustinians was killed on the river, and only two Augustinians, *testibus* Manrique and the Jesuits of Agra, were taken to Agra. The three days granted to the Friar for asking a boon are as suspicious as the elephant's three bows before the Friar or before the Emperor in the variants of the story.

The next account is in Asiaticus (1803).

[p. 48] "In the year 1599 the Portuguese built a Fort at Hougly in the place now called *Goleghat*. In the same year the Missionaries of the Order of *St. Augustine* founded the Convent of Bandel, the Cathedral Church of *St. Paul*, and the Church of *Miseracordia* [*sic*], to which was attached a *Recolhimento* for the protection of ladies: the foundation of these sacred buildings are to be seen at this day.² The Convent of Bandel was demolished in 1640, and rebuilt by *John Gomes de Soto*.

¹ For the rest of this document see Appendix.

² These two first sentences contain as many errors as statements. The Portuguese settled at Hugli in 1579-80 under a *farmão* from Fatehpur Sikri; they had no fort at Hugli; the

"In 1632 the Portuguese committed excesses on the Imperial Mahal at Hougly: the Emperor demanded satisfaction, which was denied him.¹ The incensed Monarch immediately [p. 49] ordered a powerful army, commanded by twenty-two Omrahs,² to extirpate the Portuguese. *Michael Rodrigues* and

Augustinians did not build the Church of St. Paul in 1599, for St. Paul's, the Jesuit Church, came much later, and it could in no way have been called a Cathedral, since there was no Bishop in Bengal. The Church *da Misericórdia* was not built by the Augustinians. It existed probably before 1599, since likely enough it was one of the two Churches, served by secular Priests, which existed at Hugli in 1598, and this is all the more likely as it was served by secular Priests in 1632. To say that it had a *recolhimento* or "house of refuge for ladies," or, as Asiaticus states at p. 43, "an orphan house for the protection and education of young ladies, whom merchants and such as commerce called to distant parts, committed [with] their families in their own absence to sacerdotal protection," is a huge error, which shows that Asiaticus or his informants had no notion of what a *Casa da Misericórdia* really was. A *Recolhimento* was attached to Santa Monica's, a Convent of Augustinian Nuns founded at Goa in 1606-07, and it is evidently the notion that the Augustinians at Hugli must have had some sort of nunnery of their Order which has led to the idea of a *recolhimento* (directed by the secular priests of the Church *da Misericórdia*!). Yet, Asiaticus, who knew that the Church *da Misericórdia* and the Convent of Bandel were two different things, had the *audacity*, we might say the effrontery, to insinuate that the Bandel Convent was a mixed one of Priests and Nuns. "When I had gratified my curiosity in examining the Convent, Imagination pointed to me sequestered Nymphs in the cloysters: I sought what Fancy represented, but alas! I sought in vain—No speaking eye—no panting bosom—no graceful form appeared to rivet my soul to Bandel! *Pure Holy, but Solitary Bandel!*—I wished to have imbibed religious admonitions from the rosy lips of Beauty.—How strongly impressed must they have been when delivered in a Cloyster!—I reflected.—*Reflection* instantly chilled my blood, when I turned with a smile to a bottle of Madeira, and drank a glass of consecrated wine [what shall we call this? Crass ignorance or gross flippancy?] within the hallowed precincts of the Convent—the polite Prior, in compliment to me, merely pressed another glass to his spotless lips.—I bowed—and bade him—Farewell!" The Prior was indeed very polite, and Asiaticus or, to shake off the mask of his *nom-de-plume*, Mr. Hawkesworth, must have been very polite too in his presence; but the Prior would have been less polite, had he known what Asiaticus would say of his Convent, or that he would give himself the merit of having been more abstemious than his host. I have often wondered whether he got that glass of Madeira at all! To judge of the malice and impudence of the above quotation, one should read what he had written on p. 44: "The ancient and famous Port of Hougly contains now but a few small houses and several poor huts. The lascivious damsels of this once gay city slumber under its ruins. When Pomp withdrew from thence, Debauchery vanished. Poverty now stalks over the ground, where once beguiling Priests led the unwary stranger in the morning to the altar of God, and in the evening to the chamber of riot: regardless of their sacerdotal robes here Priests for gold were the Factors of Pleasure." Such is the inveterate and incorrigible perversity of certain people about things Catholic that such silly trash, or Captain Alexander Hamilton's more salacious remarks, disgrace the pages of our latest Gazetteers. The *Voltairian* Charpentier, *Cossigny* (*Voyage en Bengale*, Paris, An 7 de la République Française, I. 94-97) is more moderate.

¹ Shāh Jahān had no royal Mahal at Hugli; but, I shall not enter here into the causes of the siege of Hugli. I have done so partly in a paper on *Western Art at the Moghal Court* and in my translations of the *Fall of Hugli* by Cabral and Manrique, both yet in MS.

² Here we have 22 Omrahs against the 18 Nawābs of Frei João de S. Nicoláo and the 14 Muraós (Omrahs) of Manrique.

his garrison bravely opposed, and the Moslems would have besieged in vain, had not a Portuguese *Mistio* [*mestiço*], *Martin Pereira de Melho*, betrayed the fortress by pointing out a track through which the enemy entered, and destroyed all before them with fire and sword.¹ *Michael Rodrigues* and 15,000 Christian captives were dragged to the Imperial residence at Agra; *Shah Jehan* commanded them, as slaves of war, to be distributed among the Moslem families; of the five Augustine friars brought to Agra four were immediately put to death: the fifth, the *Rev. Fr. John Da Cruz*, was reserved for peculiar and exemplary punishment. These events occurred in 1633.²

"When the day of punishment arrived, the Emperor ordered him to be cast in an area to a furious elephant. The elephant, at sight of the friar lost his native ferocity and gently caressed him with his proboscis. The astonished and disappointed Emperor determined on his pardon, and ordering him to be brought to the imperial presence, granted him three days to reflect on any request he had to make, which should be complied with. The prudent *Da Cruz* did not require so much time to deliberate, but instantly determined, and solicited his own liberty, with permission to re-conduct the

¹ *Asiaticus* was, perhaps, the first to join the names of Michael Rodrigues and the traitor de Mello. As far as I know, Father Catrou, S. J., had mentioned the name of Michael Rodrigues before (Cf. *The General History of the Mogol Empire*, London, 1709, pp. 221-222), but neither name is found in Manucci's *Storia de Mogor*, which Fr. Catrou published in abridged form, nor in Bernier, Tavernier, or any other author earlier than *Asiaticus*. It leads to the question of *Asiaticus'* sources. Now it is very curious that, except for a short account of the fall of Hugli by Faria y Sousa (*Asia Portuguesa*, Lisboa, 1695, III. 415), no Portuguese or Spanish author has ever been quoted in connection with such a disastrous event as the fall of Hugli. Even in Faria y Sousa, the date (1633) and many of the facts are wrong, and he knows nothing, he says, about the fate of the inhabitants after the capture of the town. The long account by Manrique, a contemporary writer, was never utilized, and Manrique is silent about de Mello. *Asiaticus* has de Mello's name pretty correctly, for we now know through the yet unpublished account of Fr. Cabral, S. J., that it was Martin Afonso de Mello, and that his brother, Duarte de Mello, was a traitor too. What is related by Catrou about Michael Rodrigues, a native of Hugli, is ascribed by Manrique to Michael Rodrigues, Captain of the Portuguese of Dacca. He refused to assist *Shah Jahán*, then Prince Khurram, against his father *Jahángir*, and joined Prince Parwiz. Hence, *Shah Jahán's* irritation against the Portuguese of Bengal in general, and an oath that, if ever he came to the throne, he would destroy Hugli. I have found no evidence, except in Catrou, that Michael Rodrigues was alive and Captain at Hugli in 1632, still less that he was taken to Agra with 15,000 Christians, a number nearly four times the real number. The total of the Christian population of Hugli in 1632 was 10,000, a very "round" number. The mistaken notion of a fort at Hugli has led to that of "garrison" and "track" (into the citadel?). De Mello distinguished himself by his cleverness in barring the river against the flight of the Portuguese and the cannonade which he directed at the narrowest passages during their flight. *Asiaticus* refers to papers in the Convent Archives, which I have not seen.

² We have here 5 Augustinians instead of 2 Augustinians and 2 secular Priests. For the sake of the 777 bighás, the legend has dragged in *Frei da Cruz* as a fifth victim. None of the four Priests was put to death. The 2 secular Priests died in prison from their hardships; the 2 Augustinians survived their captivity.

surviving Christian captives to Bengal. I present the story to the reader as I find it in the archives of Bandel.¹

"It is certain the Portuguese were again received into favour, as the Emperor presented them with an imperial donation of 777 biggas of land, which they possess this day under the name of *Bandel of Hugly, otherwise Balegore*.

"By this imperial grant, the Portuguese were permitted to found Churches, and the friars were exempted from the authority of the Soubahdars, Fouzdars, and other officers of state. Within the limits of their 777 biggas, they were allowed to exercise magisterial power, with regard to the Christians, but were denied that of life and death. They were at the same time exempted from all tribute and tolls.

"Before the Portuguese were established at Hoogly, the Augustine Monks founded the Churches of Chittagong, Tezgong and Balasore, but of their foundation I can give no particulars."²

¹ *Asiaticus* gives here in a footnote a Portuguese text "copied at my request from the original records a *Dignissimo Prior [do] Convento de Bandel*." We translate it: "The day came when the martyrdom was to be accomplished. This was in the year 1633. The Emperor ordained that the Very Rev. Father Fr[ei] Joáo da Cruz be cast at the feet of an infuriated elephant, to be torn to pieces in his presence and that of the whole of his court; but, the elephant, forgetting his natural ferociousness, knelt at the feet of the said Father, paid him his obeisance (*fez-lhe cortesias*) and defended him with his proboscis. The whole court and the Emperor, too, seeing so great a prodigy, were unanimous in confessing that the said Very Rev. Father Fr[ei] Joáo da Cruz was a servant of God. He was instantly brought before the Emperor and was told by him to ask whatever he wished, for he would be granted it all. For this he gave him three days' time; but the said Father answered he did not need so much time [for reflection]; he wished only that His Majesty should let him free to return to Bengal, and together with him all the Christian captives."

This account resembles very much that of Frei Joáo de S. Nicoláo. It may have been inspired by the same source, some MS. document in the Archives of the Bandel Convent. It is not based on any printed authority that we know of, unless it be the *Life* of Frei Joáo da Cruz, a printed life it would seem, by Frei Lourenço da Graça. *Asiaticus* refers to such a *Life* at p. 32, in connection with his list of Augustinian foundations. But, no such *Life* exists now at the Convent. It must be very scarce, for all my inquiries from Augustinians in Spain have failed to procure the text of Lourenço da Graça, whether printed or MS. Neither could the present Prior assure me that the text quoted by *Asiaticus* is still preserved in any ancient document at the Convent. After the destruction of the records of the Convent in 1759, no document earlier than 1757 could well have been quoted. Besides, as I have remarked, the *Life* is among the authorities of the Friar's monology; yet, none of these authorities led the writer of the monology to allude to the dramatic story of the elephants.

² The Churches here mentioned are later in date than the Convent of Hugli. We base ourself on Manrique, who speaks of the Augustinian Churches before 1641. Neither Tezgaon (Dacca) nor Balasore appears there.

If such are the errors committed by *Asiaticus* all round about striking historical facts, and if popular rumour has failed to record them accurately after 170 years, shall we be taxed with rashness if we suggest as the only plausible explanation that the story of the elephant, something

Our next extract contains notes by "Dr. Wise," whom I take to have been Thomas Alexander Wise, Civil Surgeon of Hugli (1829-39).¹

These notes, published in *The Bengal Catholic Herald*, Calcutta, 1842, May 28, pp. 296-298, are said to have been "taken from a statistical account of the Zillah Hooghly, prepared by order of Government, which he permitted us to copy from the *MS.*" Probably, it was Archbishop Carew who obtained and published them as one of several articles on the origin of the Catholic Churches in Bengal published in the same paper in 1842. Dr. Wise does not appear to have had these notes published elsewhere. They are not based, as might be thought, on any documentary evidence found in the Hugli records, but were compiled from different authors, as we must show, if it is to be made clear that they have no independent value.

[p. 296.] "At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Bengal was exposed to frequent revolutions; and much oppression was exercised on the inhabitants. The chief landed proprietors were often at war with each other, and with their Mahomedan rulers; when they imagined that they could by so doing, aggrandize themselves. On such occasions, the enterprising and warlike race of Portuguese, who about the year 1538 visited the country, lent their aid to the Kings of Gour, and were frequently of great service, in deciding these internal feuds, by their superior courage aided by their superior arms.

"In recompense for such assistance they were first allowed to settle at a place called Golghat on the right bank of the Bhaguruthee river; where they built a Fort for their security about the year 1599.² It was of a square form, flanked by four bastions, and surrounded on three sides by a ditch, and on the fourth by the river Hooghly.³ This Fort was situated four miles from

of which happened indeed at Agra, was tacked on to Frei da Cruz' name at a much remoter date? The only two curious points left are: how did Fr. Catrou get at the name of Michael Rodriguez, and did Asiaticus obtain the name independently of Catrou, as he did for that of de Mello?

¹ Cf. Crawford, *Hughli Medical Gazetteer*, 1903, p. 520.

² Traceable to Asiaticus.—We do not return in these notes to results already reached.

³ Traceable to the *Biddulandwa* of Abdul Hamid Lahori (Cf. Crawford, *Brief History of the Hughli District*, p. 7), and probably suggested by the reflection that forts were generally square in those days rather than by an examination of what is supposed to have been the Portuguese fort. "The foundations of two walls may still be seen at low tide, when the river is not high, jutting out from the bank, immediately in front of the jail, from ground which now forms part of the jail garden," (*ibid.*, p. 9, and cf. L. S. S. O'Malley, *Hooghly*, p. 272). We have said what we think of these ruins. We now suggest that Abdul Hamid Lahori has been misunderstood. "In course of time," he writes, "through the ignorance or negligence of the rulers of Bengal, these Europeans increased in number, and erected large substantial buildings, which they fortified with cannon, muskets and other implements of war. In due course a considerable place grew up, which was known by the name of the part of Hughli. On one side of it was the river, and on the other three sides was a ditch filled from the river." I think this represents Hughli,

Satgong; on an elevated bank of the river. The character of the Portuguese for bravery afforded security against the tyranny [p. 297] and continual exactions of the Mahommedan rulers; and the advantageous nature of the commerce carried on by the Portuguese induced many of the natives to seek their protection, and a thriving town soon sprung up, while Satgong, hitherto the second port in Bengal, being thus deprived of its trade, soon sunk into insignificance.

"The Portuguese had been attracted to India by the desire of wealth, and of propagating the Christian Religion. For this purpose, after the Fort was built, the Friars of St. Augustine founded the Convent of Bandel, the Cathedral of St. Paul, and the Church of Miserecordia [*sic*] to which was attached a *Recolhimento* for the protection of Ladies.¹ The zeal and influence of the Priests seem to have inflamed the jealousy, and alarmed the Mahommedans by their religious zeal, and the well known bravery of their countrymen. This feeling of jealousy was accompanied with hatred on the part of the Emperor, for during the unnatural rebellion of Shaw Jehan against his father, the Portuguese had refused him the assistance of their Soldiers and Artillery, and it is alleged that Rodrigues, the Governor of Hooghly, added insult to the refusal. Soon after the accession of Shaw Jehan to the imperial throne, Cosim Khan, Governor of Bengal, complained that he was very much disturbed in the duties of his office by the Portuguese, who had been permitted to establish themselves at Hooghly for the purpose of trade, and that they, instead of attending to the business of merchants, had fortified themselves in that place, and were become so insolent, that they committed many acts of violence upon the subjects of the empire, and presumed to exact duties from the boats and vessels which passed by their fort. The Emperor mindful of

not in time of peace, but as it looked in 1632, when every building was turned into a sort of citadel. Abdul Hamid Lâhorî does not say that the ditch and the river bounded a fort, but the settlement. The ditches may have been natural channels formed by the old bed of a river, like the Sarnaswâ, which separating from the Hugli at a point north of the settlement rejoined the Hugli at a point south of it. It is this, not a moat round a fort, which would have given to Hugli the appearance of an "island."

¹ To be found in Asiaticus.—(A.D. 1610) "If a sick person dies [in the hospital of Goa], all his property is carried off to the *Misericorde*. If the deceased has made a will, the fraternity, called the *Hermanos de la Misericorde*, become his executors; if there is no will, they preserve the property and await news of the heirs; if there be found, all is delivered to them; but they always give a portion to the *Misericorde*. If no heir is found, then upon the return of the next post from Portugal, where the matter is advertised, the *Misericorde* disposes of all the gold, silver, goods and clothes, the proceeds being given to the poor." Cf. Fyraud de Laval, Hakl. edn., II, Pt. I, 10-11. See also p. 20: "The prisoners are assisted with alms from the well-to-do, and the officers or *Confrères* of the *Misericorde*, called *Irmãos*, come to visit all the prisoners once a month, as well as all the poor of the town that are on their list. In the same way the poor widows and orphan girls are fed at the expense of this fraternity."

their refusing him assistance, ordered Cosim Khan to expel them from his dominions. Cosim raised secretly a large army, commanded it is said by 22 omrah, with which he invested the Fort of Hooghly, after having closed all communication with the sea by erecting a bridge of boats below the Fort. For three months and a half the besieged withstood the repeated attacks of the whole army. Recourse was then had to mining and one of the principal flanking bastions was blown up. The Mahommedans rushed on to complete the work of destruction; but the garrison quickly rallied round the weakened part. Wave after wave rushed on, to what was supposed a certain victory, but they found themselves opposed to a band of warriors, who made them pause, recoil and retreat. Next day a breastwork had been formed which precluded all chance of success. As a defeat would be fatal to the commander of the Mussulman forces; and as the last resource he tried the influence of money, so as to gain by treachery what he could not accomplish by open force [*sic*]. He was too successful in this last effort. An Indian Portuguese of the name of Pereira DeMello, went over to the enemy, and offered to conduct a chosen body of troops by a secret path into the Fort, upon the Festival of St. John the Baptist, when the garrison were at prayers. Led on by the traitor, the troops were introduced; and driven from the fortifications, the garrison

Pietro della Valle describes the Misericórdia in connection with Cananore (1624). "There are some of them in all the settlements of the *Portugals*. They correspond with one another, and do many good works, much like our *Monte della Pietà*, *Santo Spirito*, and other such; for almost all the pious works, which amongst us are done by divers Houses and Societies, this Institution of *La Misericórdia* does amongst the *Portugals*; as keeping things deposited; transmitting Bills of Exchange safely; relieving the poor, the sick and imprisoned; maintaining exposed children; marrying young maids; keeping Women of ill Lives when converted; redeeming slaves; and, in short, all works of Mercy whereof a City, or Country, can have need. A pious thing, indeed, and of infinite benefit to the Publick; the rather because they are in all Territories of the *Portugals*, and hold correspondence together, even those of *India* with those of *Portugal*; so that they all seem but one body extending itself to several countries and becoming incredibly useful to all. This pious institution is governed by secular Confreres, to which Confraternity none are admitted but worthy Persons, upon certain decent conditions and to a set number. So that the good works which they do and the great sums expended therein every year, accrue to the benefit, not only of the Confreres, but of the Publick in general, together with much Charity; hence, I do not account my time lost in making this little digression." Cf. Hakluyt edn., London, 1892, II, 382-383.

"The Society still exists and performs many charitable duties. Its members are drawn from all classes of Society, and when rendering their services are disguised completely by a cowl covering the head and face, with two holes in it for the eyes to see through." (See Fonseca, *Hist. and Archæol. Sketch of Goa*, p. 244 and p. 382, n. 4.) "The Santa Casa de Misericórdia at Goa was an offshoot of the great charitable fraternity of Portugal, the *Irmundade de Misericórdia*, which in 1498 superseded the *Irmundade de Piedade*. There were similar fraternities at Cochín, Chaul, Ormuz, etc. Mr. J. G. da Cunha says that the ruins of the Misericórdia at Chaul are still known by the natives by the name *Misri*." Cf. Pyrard de Laval, (Hakl. edn.) II, Pt. I, 109, 1.

continued to fight from their houses, encouraged by Friars Frás Gregoria das Anjos [read: Fre Gregorio dos Anjos] and Fre John DaCruz, for the protection of their altars and their homes. But after a thousand of the garrison were slain, the living proposed terms. They offered half their effects to Cosim and promised to pay an annual tribute of four Lacs of Rupees upon condition that they should be permitted to remain in the country with their former privileges to trade, but the hour of revenge had arrived, and the offer was rejected. Unconquered the Portuguese cut their way through their enemies to their ships in the harbour, and rather than allow the principal one to be taken, it was blown up by the desperate crew with most of their treasure, and it is believed with many of the principal families. All the other Christians were seized and only one small grab was able to force its way, past the bridge of boats, which had been injured by the conflagration of the vessels, and conveyed to Goa the news of the total destruction of the place.¹

"The lives of the three thousand prisoners and with their Governor Rodriguez were dragged to Agra, where the Emperor was then residing, as a trophy of victory.² The men and women were distributed to the different grandees as slaves, the boys were forcibly made Mahommedans, and the girls were distributed among the harems of the Emperor, and his nobility.³

"Four of the Priests who had escaped the massacre at Hooghly were torn to pieces by wild Elephants; but the Rev. Fre John DaCruz was reserved for

¹ This account of the siege can be traced to Stewart's *History of Bengal*, pp. 240-243. Stewart having used himself the Muhammadan historians, Catrou, and Faria y Sousa. To prove it for every sentence would take us too much out of our way. Dr. Wise took from Asiaticus the detail about the 22 Omrahs, and the story of the Mello's treachery. The 3½ months of the siege, the mining operations, the blowing up of the chief ship, and the escape of one grab are in the *Badsāhānāma*, while the blowing up of the "principal flanking bastion" is a simple misunderstanding of what we find there. The name of Friar Gregorio dos Anjos may rest on tradition, or on notes obtained from the Augustinian Prior, who must have possessed a few books referring to his order, (*inter quos* a menology?). We have the name through the Augustinian Manrique, for instance. The date of the capture, June 24, the feast of St. John the Baptist, may have been obtained in the same way. We find it in Friar João da Cruz' menology as the date when Hugli was taken. But, it is out by three months, since June 24 was the day when the hostilities began by the appearance of a hostile fleet from Dacca. It is quite possible that at the time the people were at their prayers in the different Churches. When Stewart speaks of a yearly tribute of Rs. 100,000 which the Portuguese agreed to pay, if the enemy should retire, he goes beyond his sources. Kāsim Khān exacted at first half of the property of the Bandel, as we know now from Father Cabral; Dr. Wise says something similar, which in his case may be based on a tradition. The Portuguese actually paid nearly Rs. 100,000, to be let off (*Badsāhānāma* and Fr. Cabral). It did not save them.

* Read: the lives of the three thousands prisoners were spared, and with their Governor they....

* This paragraph is founded on Asiaticus, and Stewart, who used Bernier or Catrou. The number of prisoners taken to Agra falls short by a thousand from the real number. The Jesuits of Agra say 4,000, and this agrees with the 4,400 prisoners taken at Hugli, according to Stewart following the *Badsāhānāma*. The *Badsāhānāma* says still that "• • • 400 of them were brought to Agra." (Cf. Elliot, *History of India*, VII. 42, where the MS. should have had 4,400, as before.)

exemplary punishment on account of his bravery and zeal. On a feast day when the Emperor and his Court were assembled, like the display of the Roman Emperors, the Priest was thrown into a spacious area and an infuriated Elephant was let loose upon the kneeling priest. The animal rushed on his victim, while in the fervor of prayer; but seemed suddenly to forget his natural ferocity and "instinctively knowing his good qualities"¹ instead of destroying, prostrated himself before him, and gently caressed him with his proboscis.

"God ordered it for the spread of Christianity" and the Emperor seeing that the [p. 298.] Christian was a servant of God, ordered one of his Choppers to declare that he was pardoned, and ordered him into his presence.

"As the Priest arose, the obedient Elephant again made the surrounding building echo with his roar; but it was now an exclamation of joy, and as the priest retired "the Elephant made three profound bows to the Emperor."²

"The Emperor received the Priest with the greatest honor, offered to grant him any request he would name, and gave him three days to decide on what boon he should ask. The prudent DaCruz did not require so much time to deliberate; but instantly solicited his own liberty with permission to conduct the surviving Christians to Bengal. A firman was promulgated by beat of tom-tom, through all the country, ordering the immediate return of all the captives, who were loaded with presents and sent back to the place of their former residence."³

"The Portuguese thus received into favor obtained a charter (sunud) signed by the Emperor, by which he allowed them to return to Hooghly and to build a town to the North of the former Fort still known by the Europeans as Bandel, and by the natives by that of Balaghur (strong house). The land thus assigned to the Christians consisting of 777 beegahs was given free of rent, and the Friars were declared exempted from the authority of the Subadars, Fouzdars, and other officers of state. They were even allowed to exercise magisterial power with regard to Christians, but were denied that of life and death—at the same time the Emperor ordered all his officers and subjects in Bengal to assist the brave Portuguese."⁴

¹ "Sic in MS. Records." (Note by Dr. Wise ?) in the *Bengal Catholic Herald*.

² All this is from Asiaticus, with the exception of an immaterial flourish or two, and those parts of the text which we found within quotation marks and cannot trace to their source.

³ The beating of the tom-tom adds a touch of local colouring to the narrative, but neither it nor the bestowing of gifts happened at Agra. These two details may be borrowed from tradition. They would point to what happened in 1633 when 30 families were allowed (by the Governor of Bengal ?) to return to Hugli. Perhaps, it was on that occasion that a tribute (bribe?) of 4 lakhs of rupees was offered (cf. Dr. Wise's text *supra*); but, we do not see how these few families could have bound themselves down to the promise of a yearly tribute of 4 lakhs of rupees.

⁴ Borrowed from Asiaticus.

"The Christians returned to Bengal in 1633 when the Church of MISERICORDIA, founded in 1599, was restored. This Church seems to have been destroyed in 1640 during one of those revolutions which so frequently occurred, at that time in Bengal, when the emperors and their orders and privileges were treated with neglect, and when the law of the strongest was only attended to. John Gomes de Soto built the present Convent of Bandel, beautifully situated on the right bank of the river Hooghly, which forms an imposing object from the river.¹ The Church forms one side of the quadrangle, the other three sides being formed of the cloisters in which the Pater Prior resides, beyond which is a fine garden surrounded by a high wall. The Church has a fine chaste appearance, and has received various additions and improvements from different pious individuals. Its internal arrangements reflect much credit on the taste and liberality of the donors. It is in the form of a Cross, and contains three altars; the one on the right is dedicated to our Saviour; that on the left to the Virgin Mary, and the central to the patron saint of the Church, St. Augustine. The graceful decorations of the altars when lighted up, the solemn grandeur of the large building, as the notes of the organ reverberate through the corridors, form a very fine object of contemplation, and recalls forcibly the grandeur of construction, and richness of decoration, which distinguishes the edifices of the same kind, in the Roman Catholic states of Europe.

"During the changes of Governors, and the revolutions which the country underwent, with the encroachments of the river, the original grant of land has been diminished; but the privileges which they obtained in such a peculiar manner are still respected....."²

We may dismiss in a few words the remarks on Hugli and Bandel in the Rev. J. Long's article on the Portuguese in North India (*Select. from the Calcutta Review*, II, Aug.—June 1882, pp. 77-81 or *Calcutta Review*, V, June 1846, pp. 256-260.) He is the first who mentions the attack on the Moorish fort by Carvalho, Cervalins, as he calls him. His reckless system of suppressing references has occasioned on that point much annoyance to later writers. Long states, what no one had yet said, that "there was also a nunnery."³ All the rest, *minus* a few personal mistakes and misunderstandings, can be referred back to previous writers, Dr. Wise among them.

¹ Great confusion in this passage. The Church da Misericordia would have been rebuilt after 1623 and destroyed in 1640, and de Soto rebuilt the present Convent (no date)! Did Dr. Wise think the Church da Misericordia and the Convent were one and the same? He distinguished them in the beginning of his notes. Let us say that he misunderstood Asiaticus. We judge that the Church da Misericordia was not rebuilt, but that the ruins of the Convent were pulled down in 1640, when de Soto would have rebuilt it.

² Dr. Wise's last remarks refer to the deterioration of the descendants of the Portuguese.

³ The first Nunnery in India was that of the Augustinian Convent of St. Monica (1606), at Goa. Later, the civil authority of Goa resisted the creation of other Convents of Nuns at Goa.

Toynbee (1888) has copied verbatim Long's notes on Hugli and Bandel, but he adds a few interesting facts on Bandel which are not to be found before him.

Sumbhoo Chunder Dey's series of articles on *Hooghly: Past and Present* (see the first in *Calcutta Review*, Vol. 95, July 1892, pp. 258-266), though marred by all the earlier misstatements about the Portuguese, is the first serious piece of research on Hugli. He speaks of the "beautiful" Convent built by the Augustinians in 1599 (as if he had seen it), and of their "splendid" Church "which was blown up in 1632." The Church here becomes the "fort," or the "fort" becomes the Church. He quotes the *Bādshāhnāma* through Blochmann's *Ain*, I, 499, but it is not sure that the *Bādshāhnāma* refers to any Church at all, and if it does, it is unlikely that the reference be to the Augustinian Church of Bandel. The *Bādshāhnāma* mentions an edifice, loftier and stronger than all the other buildings, where a large number of Firingis defended themselves. If this building was blown up at the end of the siege, as appears to be implied in the *Bādshāhnāma*, it is not impossible that it should have been a Church south of the Bandel Church, in Hugli proper. The only new point of interest in Sumbhoo Chunder Dey's study is that, three days after the fall of Hugli, Kāsim Khān, who had brought it about, died. He refers us to Blochmann's *Ain* (*ibid.*), who refers to the *Bādshāhnāma*, I, 444.

The chief features of interest about the Portuguese in Lieut. Col. D. G. Crawford's *Brief Hist. of the Hughli District* are the extracts from the *Bādshāhnāma* and Khāfi Khān's *Muntakhabul lubar*. L. S. S. O'Malley's *Hooghly Gazetteer* (1912) shows further improvements. Both trust too much their predecessors.

SATURDAY, January 10, Evening.—I have reached the end of my work on the Registers. They begin in 1757, the earlier ones having been des-

A. F. M., writing to *The Examiner*, Bombay, June 14, 1913, p. 95, announced that he had found a Royal Charter dated 1645 for the foundation of a Convent at Damão. My researches into the question "Where was our second Nunnery?" (*cf. Examiner*, 1913, pp. 317, 349) showed that there was an Augustinian hospice with a sisterhood at Mailapur in 1707. (*cf. Manucci, Storia de Mogor*, IV, 68). Perhaps, a similar institution was contemplated at Hugli, for we find that in 1714 the Augustinians of Bandel claimed exemption from the authority of the Ordinary of Mailapur, Don F. Laines, S. J., for Isabel de Jesus, a widow, whom they declared to be a professed Religious of their Order. They confessed, however, that she had never lived in a monastery, such being the distance from Bengal to Goa (*sic*); but they contended that this was not an essential condition. They said they had the power to admit her to the profession, and that she depended from the nearest Convent, St. Monica's of Goa. It is clear, then, that there was strictly no Convent of Nuns at Bandel, and barring Isabel de Jesus, whose claim to the title of Nun Bishop F. Laines would not acknowledge, we know of no Nuns in Bengal before the arrival of the Loretines, Middleton Row, in 1841. A Convent of Ursuline Nuns was begun at Pondicherry in 1738, and a Convent of Carmelite Nuns was opened in the same place in 1748. *cf. The Examiner*, 1913, pp. 317, 349.

troyed in the year of the Black Hole. With the system devised for recording some of the best parts of their contents, it will be possible to show for every month of every year what Priests were here: who celebrated the baptisms, marriages and burials. I have found for 1757-1913 the names of some 160 Priests who either resided at Bandel and Chinsura, or passed through the two places. It will be possible to make up for the same period a tentative list of the Priors of Bandel and the Vicars of Chinsura with the approximate length of their incumbency. We have also the monthly totals of the sacred returns for 1757-1913. Of special interest are some 37 obituary notices of Augustinian Priests deceased at Bandel or elsewhere, which the Burial Registers have yielded. They record 9 names not found otherwise. The importance attaching to this work will be best brought home if I say that the history of the Bandel Convent was practically a blank to us; nay more, until the continental archives of the Augustinians can be consulted, I fear that our chief source for their history in Bengal will be the Church Registers that have escaped the ravages of time. By means of them, a few old papers and some printed books, we should be able to compile a catalogue of some 600 Bengal Missionaries, Augustinians, Jesuits, Capuchins, and secular Priests for 1576-1860. It is worth trying. Curiously enough, we know a great deal more about our Missions in Bengal for 1599-1640 than for 1700-1757.

Holy Bandel! A proof of the deep veneration in which this Bengal cradle of their Religion was held by the Augustinians lies in the fact that they considered it the supreme consolation of their life to come and spend their last days here and be joined to the dust of their brethren in the hallowed ground of Mary's sanctuary. Heaven alone knows how many of them lie buried before the High Altar, or before the Altar of Our Lady of the Rosary. Heaven alone, I say, for the name of the last Augustinian of Bengal is alone inscribed on marble (1869). Just so at Murghilhat in the case of its last Augustinian Vicar, Frei Antonio de S. Maria (1841). And just as the Jesuits who died at Lahore, Fairabad, Delhi, Lucknow and Peshawar (Buxar?) were carried to Padres Santos' Cemetery at Agra (1618-1803), so also would the remains of Augustinian Friars deceased in the remotest parts of Bengal be gathered to their rest here in this blessed spot. Verily, it was like Bengal past and present giving each other the kiss of peace. About 1698, Frei Joao de Sahagun went to Chiroto, *i. e.*, Sylhet, to recover the remains of his own brother Frei Luis dos Anjos, who had died there, perhaps at Bandasil,¹ one or two years before. He found them entire, brought them to "Ugulin" and buried them between the High Altar and the wall on the Epistle side, "where no other

¹ Cf. on this curious old Christian settlement B. C. Allen, C. S., *Assam District Gazetteer*, Vol. II, Sylhet (Calcutta, 1903), p. 91.

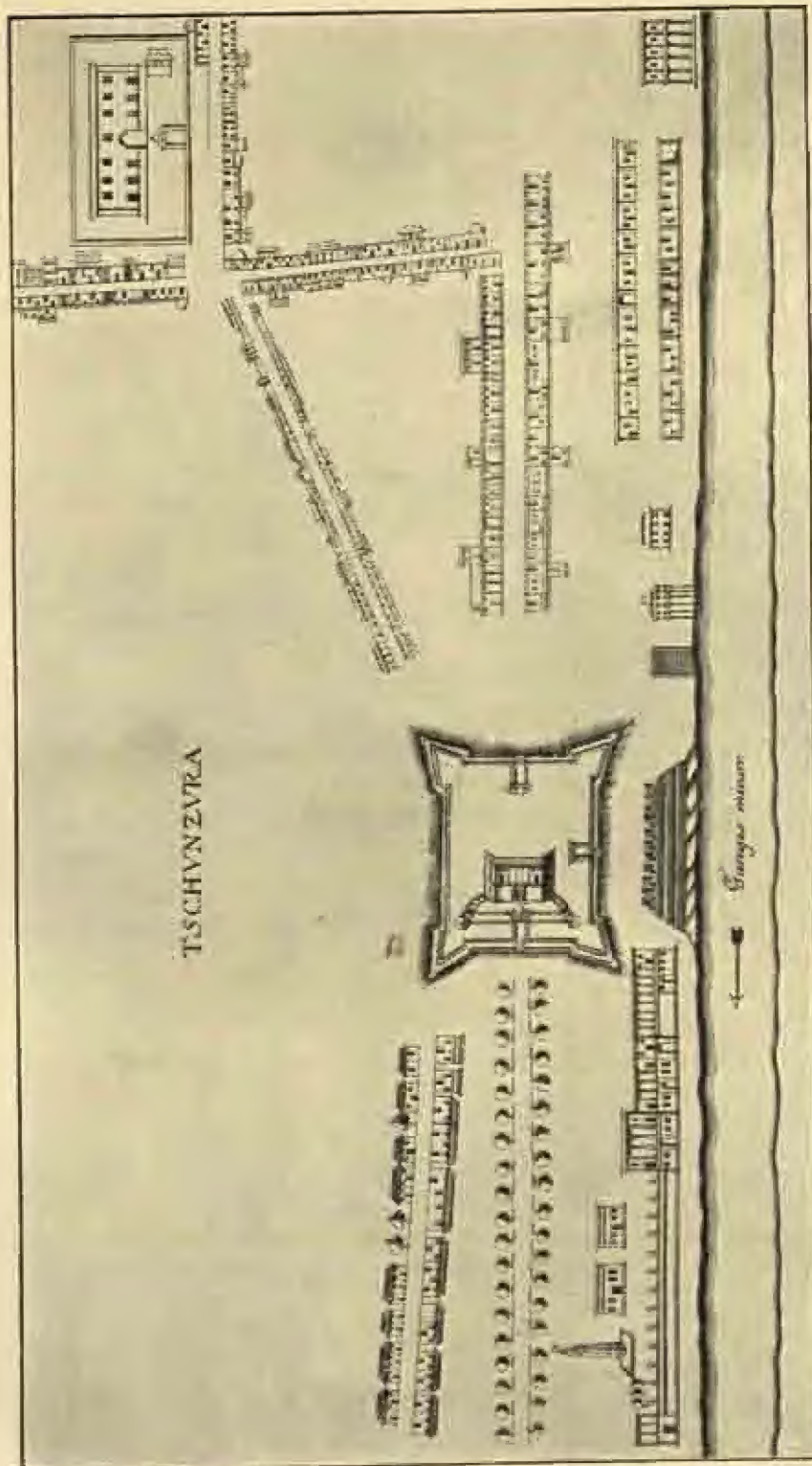
body was buried before or after." Thus spoke in 1750 Frei Ambrosio de S. Agostinho, more feelingly than correctly for later years beyond his control.

In the sanctuary of the High Altar, on the Gospel side, lie: Friars Manoel de S. Rita (1793, July 8), and Manoel do Rozario (1817, January 24); in the same place, on the Epistle side: Friars Joaquim de S. Anna (1803, September 28) and Manoel de S. Joaquim (1820, March 15); near the door of the sacristy: Frei Antonio da Lus (1795, December 9); under the arch of the "Chapel" of the High Altar, Epistle side, near the wall: Frei Antonio de Padua (1810, December 3); *do.*, Gospel side, near the wall: Friars Antonio de S. Rita (1811, February 10) and Joaquim de S. Jose Pinheiro (1812, July 17); in front of the altar of our Lady of the Rosary: Friars Francisco de S. Maria (1805, May 4), and the Rev. Gabriel Salvadore Britto (1891, July 7); in places not specified: Friars Joaquim de S. Rita (1798, December 25); Francisco de S. Jose (1812, August 15), Jose da Expectação Carvalho (1839, November 18), Joao Correia (1845, April 10), and Jose de S. Agostinho (1869, November 12).

Some of the obituaries of the Friars are as instructive as they are pious. Father Frei Joze da Piedade, the Vicar Prior, wrote: "On the 15th of August 1812, at 4 o'clock in the evening, died in this convent the Very Reverend Father Prior Fre Francisco de S. Jose, a Religious of our Father St. Augustine. He was about 56 (?)¹ years old, and was born of white parents at Goa. He counted 25 years of Religion and about 10 of Mission. During 6 years, 2 months and 27 days the Prior of this Convent, he laboured hard to repair it, chiefly the Church, which he rebuilt for the greater part. He made also the "gate" [*ghât*, or landing place] of the Convent, the greater part of all these works being done with the alms which, with much trouble to himself, he obtained from the faithful and from devout persons. A loving friend of his pays to his memory this just tribute of praise in the name of the Augustinian Religion. This entry was not made in the right place, because it was not known that its place was [to be] in this book. In truth whereof I made this entry on the 29th of September 1812."

The *ghât* built by Frei Joze da Piedade is probably the present one. Contiguous to the South of it are the traces of an older *ghât* which people say was built under Friar Joao da Cruz, *ergo* before 1638. Why should it not be even older, since a *ghât* would have been indispensable on that side of the Convent from 1599, when, as we take it all along, the Convent was first built on the present site? Supposing that it was built under Frei Joao da Cruz, it would follow that, from before 1638 till 1857 at least, the river

¹ While at Bachel, I read: 36. The writing and the abbreviations made it extremely hard to get at the meaning.



FATHER J. TIEFFENTALLER'S PLAN OF CHINSURA (1765).

bathed that *ghât*, an observation which, if correct, is not without interest for its own sake.

SUNDAY, January 11, Evening.—After a most pleasant week spent in pleasant company, I said good-bye to Bandel this afternoon, and came to Chandernagar with Father Rodrigues driving me in his trap. I shall do here what I did at Bandel, examine the Registers and study the ground where the old Churches stood. To-day Chandernagar has only a Convent Chapel and a Church, but that Church was preceded by three others now vanished, and a fourth one, which might have been a Cathedral, was begun and never completed. You would look in vain for the foundations, though they are there still, a few inches under the ground, within some 20 yards from the river bank and within a stone's throw from the present Church.

On our way we passed through Chinsura. He, whom I call the sacristan, was at home. The son of an Armenian Priest of Calcutta, he showed himself as nice as nice can be.

Above the altar, the only one in the Church, hangs a big painting representing Our Lord on the Cross (?) High up, in front of the sanctuary, a picture of Our Lady, which, owing to the semi-darkness, we could not well distinguish. We were shown within the sanctuary two other pictures of Our Lady: one probably by an Armenian artist, while the other, of the Immaculate Conception, may have come from Spain or the Philippines, since it bore the words: *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción*. In the Vestry we examined still an Armenian picture of the Descent of the Cross, one of Our Lady of Dolours, as she is represented in Catholic Churches, and another very old picture showing Our Lord in the act of touching the blind man's eyes.

Before the sanctuary, 3 lecterns. The central one held, as I was told, an Armenian Bible, which rested on a precious cloth beautifully embroidered with a chalice. Near it, a silver Cross. The people come and kiss the Bible, while the Priest, holding the Cross in one hand, blesses them with the other. At the end of the Church, there is what we would call an organ-loft, but there is no organ, for the people do not sing, but only the Priests. How many Armenians in India know Armenian now? The pews have this speciality that the worshippers kneel on small strongly made cushions, all of equal size and pattern.

The Church has a peal of 4 bells. The sacristan could not tell me whether they were dated, and it was impossible to reach them. Not long ago, in the hope, I suppose, of preserving them against rusting, someone had them painted inside and outside, with the unforeseen lamentable result that they have lost their voice.

With such a genial host as Father A. Durier, the Vicar of Chandernagar, I shall feel myself for a week in a wee little corner of *la belle France*.¹

APPENDIX A.

Privileges granted by the Mogul Emperor to the Augustinian Fathers of the East India Congregation in their house of the Bandel of Ugoly.²

Letter of the Viceroy Count do Rio Pardo to the Provincial of the Augustinians.

Yesterday I received from the Reverend Secretary of your Congregation the copies Your Very Reverend Paternity sent me of the correspondence exchanged between this Government and the Prelates of the said Congregation, in the time of the Captain General, D. Frederico Guilherme de Souza concerning the titles which could help the Crown of Portugal in reclaiming the possession of the harbour of Bandel Uguly or Balagor; and since, from the information given by the Reverend Fr[ei] João de S. Nicoláo on the 28th of February 1783, it appears that there was a formam³ of the Mogul Emperor conferring a grant of 760 Vigas of land, which formam appears to exist in the archives of the College, which your Congregation has in that harbour, Your Very Reverend Paternity should get sent, as soon as possible and by two routes, an authentic copy of the said formam in the very language in which it is written, together with a Portuguese translation, and enter them into this secretariat of the Government. God keep Your Very Reverend Paternity. Pangim, May 4, 1820. *Conde do Rio-Pardo*.—To the Very Rev. Fr. Provincial of the Order of the Hermits of St. Augustine.

Information by Father Fr. Luiz de Santa Rita, Vicar of the Bandel.

In compliance with the revered order of the Very Reverend Father Provincial, Frei Diogo do Sacramento, I, the undersigned, Vicar of the Church of our Lady of the Rosary of Bandel of Houguli, and administrator of the Convent, examined (*revi*) with every care the papers of the archives of the same Convent, and found the following ones with the title: "Copy of the Firmão of the 17 privileges of the Baixá⁴ written in the Persian language,

¹ These notes were mostly written day by day during my week at Bandel; but, having only a few books with me then, I revised and enriched them at home, without however interfering with their form of a daily record. In one place, I have perpetrated an *uteron-proteron*, which I hope will be excused.

² From *O Chronista de Timoury*, by Joaq. Hellodoro da Cunha Rivara, Nova Goa, 1866, I, 60-62; also in Blier's *Collection de Traetés*, XII, 12-17, with a note full of mis-statements.

³ *Formam*: mandate, order, decree.

⁴ *Pādsháh, Pādsháh, Rādsháh*—king, sovereign.

with a Portuguese version added to the same.¹¹ Of the Persian document I had two faithful copies made, and the following is a copy of the Portuguese.

Privileges granted by the Emperor of Dily to the Church of the Bandel of Houguli.

1.^o That at the time of the Mass no Moor, or piáo,¹ shall be allowed to enter the Church or cause a disturbance.

2.^o That the Padre of Bandel shall administer justice to its inhabitants in all matters (*toda a justiça*) except in crimes punishable with death (*crime de morte*), but theft not excluded.

3.^o That the Padre shall give the property of the deceased to their heirs or creditors, and the surplus to the poor, and the Sercar² shall not interfere in this matter.

4.^o That, with regard to the ships of both the Portuguese and the Dutch which land there, the Dorbar³ shall not interfere with any of the ship's goods should its owner happen to die, but that only the custom-dues for the said goods shall belong to it [the Dorbar].

5.^o That the Dutch ships shall not be allowed to seize the Portuguese ships coming to Bengala.

6.^o That the Portuguese ships coming to Bengala shall sell their goods in any harbour of Bengala, and that no change shall be made in the custom-dues.⁴

7.^o That, should the slaves of the Christians run away and be caught again in what place soever, no Moor shall be allowed to detain them, and still less to make them Moors.

8.^o That no Dorbar shall be allowed to retain the Christians' servants or workmen (*officiaes*) whatever their quality, if they run away to another territory.

9.^o That, in time of scarcity, no ships shall be allowed to take in rice for exportation.

10.^o If the Christians are found to live in concubinage, the Dorbar shall not mix itself up with this matter.

¹ *Pião*, hence: *poon*, from *pi* (foot), "a footman"; originally used in the sense of *foot-soldier*, orderly, messenger. Here the word seems to be equivalent to *soldier*, Hind. *piyda*. Cf. *Hakim-Jolson*, s. v. *poon*.

² *Sarkar* (Hind.) = king's court, government.

³ *Dorbar* (Hind.) = court, hall of audience. The word seems to be used here in the sense of *courier* above.

⁴ There is no allusion to English ships, but only to those of the Dutch. We cannot from this judge very closely to the date of the document. However, we may remark that there is no mention of any settlement of the Dutch. This would tally with the condition of Hugli from 1633 to about 1651. Cf. L. S. S. O'Malley, *Hughly* (Garretts), pp. 56-57.

11.^o Should fires break out in the houses of Bandel, and bambûs, stakes and straw be missing for rebuilding them, the Sercar of the Moor shall not be allowed to levy tolls, or to prevent their being bought or obtained from any other place.

12.^o That, if some married families come from Europe, and wish to settle in this Hooguli, it shall be given them gratis (*de graça*: they will be allowed in gratis?), and no customs (*fretes*)¹ shall be taken from them.

13.^o That no taxes shall be laid on any catables coming for this Bandel.

14.^o That in criminal cases the father shall not pay for his son, nor the son for his father, but each one for himself.

15.^o That families coming from Europe shall have the power to remain here what time they like, and no one shall have the power to stop them, when they wish to return to Europe.

16.^o That the Fordar² shall not have the power to call all the Christians for military service in case of war, but only four or five of the oldest and wisest.

17.^o That the two *xequis*³ who were downwards (*para baixo*: down the river), should not take from the Franguis more than was at first customary.

The document in Persian is inserted apart, because it could not be in its proper place. (*A da linguagem Persiana vai inclusa a parte, por não poder ser no seu lugar proprio.*) The 17 privileges have been faithfully copied from the original, without a word added or omitted; both agree with their original, to which I refer myself.

Since the Very Illustrious and Excellent Sr. Count do Rio Pardo and Viceroy of India asks for an authentic copy of the Firmão, in the language in which it is written, together with a Portuguese translation, relative to the favour of 777 bigas of land granted by the Emperor of Mogol to the Fathers and the Christians, I found with the said above-mentioned papers a MS. memorial, whence it appears that the first Firmão or Panjak,⁴ granted

¹ *Préter de marte*: (freight) money due for transport of goods.

² A misreading or misprint for *faujdar*, as the Muhammadan Governor was called. *Faujdar* means literally: an army officer; hence, police officer, magistrate.

³ *Xequis* seems to stand for *Xequas*, a plural for *Shaiikh* (vulg. *Sheikh*): a venerable old man; a chief, a prelate; a title taken by the descendants of the prophet, and given to those who become proselytes to Muhammadanism. Here there must be question of two officials who levied imposts on the ships somewhere at the mouth of the Hugli.

⁴ Read: *panjak*—impressed palm of the hand. Mannucci (*Storia del Mogol*, II. 388) says of the imperial *firmans*: "Usually, the seal is stamped in ink, and below it the King, dipping his hand into a red liquid impresses its shape upon the document to be dispatched. This serves as a still more authentic confirmation of the favour or gift that he makes. This ceremony is only employed in matters of importance...."

in the year 1633 by Emperor Sajan Mahomeo Sujakam¹ to the Fathers and Christians of Bandel of Houguli, of 777 bigas of land, where they might dwell, with the 17 privileges above-named, was destroyed, when the Moors waged war against the English of Calcutá, because Bandel of Houguli was utterly ruined, sacked and destroyed.

As to the second Firmão, it appears from the same memorial that it was granted by Emperor Sasojá,² at the request of the Father Prior of the Convent of Bandel of Houguli, and some of the chief Christians, inasmuch as the ministers and officers of the said Emperor, wishing to exercise their jurisdictions, Fardaris³ and Diwannis,⁴ in contravention to the King's order,

¹ We have discussed above the value of this name.

² Sháh Shujá'. His name appears generally as Soltán Shujá'. He was Governor of Bengal from 1639 to 1660. The favours here spoken of were perhaps obtained on the occasion referred to by Fray José Sicardo, O. S. A., *Christianidad del Japon*, Madrid, Francisco Sanz, 1696, Ch. III (towards the end of the chapter): "In 1634, when the galley of Don Antonio Sotomayor was set on fire in an engagement with the Dutch fleet, Father Fray Agustin de Jesus displayed his great charity in behalf of the Soldiers, who escaped in a small vessel to the Port of Caranganon [Cranganore], near Cochín. In 1635, during his voyage with Diego Leite [Laito?] Pereyra, he endured great hardships; but, no sooner had he reached the harbour [of Pegu?], than he followed the bank of a River [the Irrawaddy] up to the Kingdom of Aba [Ava], the Court of the King of Brama [Burma], where he found many Portuguese in slavery, and more than four thousand Christians, all of whom had been taken prisoners at the fortress of Syriam, 25 years before. He administered to them the Sacraments, of which they had been deprived all that time [a Jesuit had been a captive with them all that time], and saved others from the blindness of their Idolatry. Next, visiting the Missions of Bengal as Vicar General, he composed the differences that had sprung up between the Governor of a certain Place [Dacca? Hugli?] and the Portuguese living in it [Hugli? Dacca?], and, though the Governor was a Mahometan, he pressed the Father to administer the Sacraments to the Christians. Among many services rendered by him to both Majesties [God and the King of Portugal] we must single out the fact that he spent a large sum of money in ransoming from the Moors seventy Christian renegades, hoping thus to procure their reconciliation. He went also to the Court of the Great Mogor, and by means of one of his sons, [Sháh Shujá?], obtained a Decree forbidding that the Mohometans should molest the Christians, making them renounce the Faith, or obliging them to sell at a lower rate the merchandise their vessels brought for sale to those Ports. The reason urged by the Father to request this protection, was that our Religion [the Augustinian] had been the Founders of that Christianity [this should receive some qualifications], and that that King had greatly honoured them [not Sháh Jahán, as far as we can see, Jahángir = Sháh Shujá? perhaps?]. The said Father rendered no lesser services to God and his Catholic Majesty in Seilan [Ceylon] and Bombasa [Mombasa, East Africa]."

It is a pity that the visit of this Augustinian to Bengal is not dated more accurately. It would seem to have taken place soon after 1635; on the other hand, it may have been several years later, say in 1646, and the Court of the Great Moghal was perhaps nothing more than Rajmahal where the King's son, Sháh Shujá' had his Court. We do not find in the 17 privileges that the Portuguese should not be obliged to sell at a lower rate the merchandise they brought to Bengal; that privilege may have been contained in the *formão* of 1646. Anyhow, we cannot suppose that Agustin de Jesus had anything to do with the *formão* of 1633.

³ *Faujddari*: the office of *faujddár*.

⁴ *Diwání*: the office of a *diwán*; superintendence of the administration of civil justice.

were violating the immunity of the place, its inhabitants and their property. The said Emperor Sosojá passed a new Firmão in the year 1646 confirming the first, with all its privileges, favours and exemptions, and at the same time he promised his royal protection.

In the year 1786 the Father Prior of the Convent of Bandel of Houguli received from the English Government an order calling for all the originals, Firmão, Sunuds,¹ and favours (*gratis*) of the King of Dely, and that, in case they had been destroyed by some accident, copies of them be supplied; hence, the Father Prior of the Convent of Houguli, in virtue of the said order entrusted this second Firmão to the English Government, keeping only a copy of the privileges above-mentioned.² The said Government did the same with the other Jamedars,³ or owners of other lands.

These are the informations I found in writing in the archives of our Convent of our Lady of the Rosary of Bandel of Houguli as regards the Firmão of 777 bigas of land granted by the Emperor of Mogol to the Father and Christians of Houguli, and they have been copied faithfully in virtue of the order of the Very Reverend Father Provincial Fr[ei] Diogo do Sacramento. I vouch the truth of whatever has been said on the honour of my office, and, if necessary, I swear on my honour as a priest (*Juro in verbo sacerdotis*). I made two copies of the same tenour to be sent by two routes.⁴

¹ Sanad: patent, grant, charter.

² This original *farmân* of 1646 should therefore be among the Imperial Records or in the Revenue Department. It would be interesting to know the contents of the original, or of the copy still at Bandel in 1820, and still there now, we must suppose.

³ *Jâmedâr*: a keeper of the wardrobe, or *jâmedâr*: the chief of any number of persons. I think *samindâr* (land-owner) is intended.

⁴ As I understand the letter of the Prior, we must distinguish: (1) the *farmân* of 1633; (2) the *farmân* of 1646; (3) the 17 privileges. The original of No. 1 had perished in 1756, and no copy had been kept. Probably the original grant of No. 3 made in 1633 perished on the same occasion.

The original *farmân* of 1646 must have escaped the troubles of 1756, if, as stated, it was sent to Calcutta in 1786. No copy appears to have been kept at the convent and perhaps much of the subsequent litigation and loss of property to the Convent is due to that. Only a copy of the 17 privileges granted in 1646 (1633?) would have been kept after 1786. Did the original also escape the destruction of 1756 and was it sent to Calcutta in 1786 with the original *farmân* of 1646? Frei Luiz de S. Rita sent to Goa in 1809 two copies of a Portuguese translation of the 17 privileges and two copies of the same in Persian. They were sent by two different routes or posts. The copies of the 17 privileges in Persian must have been copies from a copy, yet Frei Luiz says that the Persian document sent and the Portuguese translation of it agree both with their "original." We judge that he uses the term loosely. What means: "the Persian document goes enclosed apart, because it could not be in its proper place"? Does it mean that when, as we surmise, the original of the 17 privileges (1646) was sent to Calcutta, the copy taken of it could not be inserted in the Archives at the place of the original and near the original of its Portuguese translation? Perhaps in that case it would have been kept apart.

Compare with Frei Luiz de S. Rita's letter William Cowper's letter (July 17, 1787) and the Prior's memorial to Sir John Shore (1797) in Toybee, p. 6.

The Convent of Our Lady of the Rosary of Bandel of Houguli, September 14, 1820.—*Fr. Luis de Santa Rita*, Vicar and Administrator.

(The original is in the Archives of the Convent of St. Augustine in Goa.)

APPENDIX B.

Relation which Father Fr. Joao de S. Nicolau, a Religious of the Order of the Hermits of St. Augustine, drew up in 1785, when he had retired to Goa, after having been many years Prior of Bandel of Houguli.¹

(*Arch. da India, livro das Monções, No. 165, fol. 1348.*)

Very Reverend Father Provincial.—To comply with the order of Your Very Reverend Paternity, and give you all the correct and certain informations asked by the Very Illustrious and Excellent Sr. [*Senhor*] Governor and Captain General of this Estate, concerning what the Aldeia [Village] of the Bandel in Bengala is now, I must say first what the said Aldeia was anciently, inasmuch as it is known at present by the natives of the country under the name of Balagor, and only the Europeans call it still to day by the name of Bandel.

Anciently this harbour received this name, which means city (or harbour), from the many houses and gardens made here [p. 18] by the Portuguese,² who, after their expulsion from the town of Liampo in China and of Malacca on the Malay Coast, sought refuge here.³

The said Aldeia is also called the Bandel of Houguli, and the Convent, which we have held in it these hundred thirty and odd years,⁴ is called the Con-

¹ From J. F. J. Biker's *Collecção de Tratados e concertos de pazes*, Tom. XII, Lisboa, 1886, pp. 17-25. This document had been published first by J. H. da Cunha Rivara as an addition to *Memórias sobre as Possessões Portuguezas na India* of the Desembargador Gonçalo de Magalhães Telles de Pinto, Nova Goa, 1859, p. 143. Cf. *O Chronista de Timor*, 1866, p. 60 n. a.

² The word Bandel is derived from *bandar*, wharf, port. Hence, the Portuguese spoke of "the Bandel of Hugli," and "the Bandels of Bengal." We find that in 1785 the tendency was already to use the word without article in the former case and to look upon Bandel as a proper noun.

³ The writer seems to have no notion of the origin of the settlement about 1580, or even of the Augustinian Convent of 1599. Even if he speaks of the re-settlement after 1632, the first settlers could not have come from Malacca. As for Liampo! Malacca was taken by the Dutch on January 14, 1641, and most of the Portuguese went to Ceylon. Liampo is Ning-po, a harbour in China. In 1540, therefore a century earlier than the capture of Malacca, Mendes Pinto speaks of 1000 houses built by the Portuguese at Liampo. They had their Sheriffs, Auditors, Councils, Judges and 6 or 7 other kinds of Officers, but he adds, referring to events of 1542, that the Chinese demolished all the houses. Those who had escaped from Liampo were allowed to settle in the port of Chinchew, after which they began settling at Macao about 1558. Cf. *Faria y Sousa, Asia Portuguesa*, III. 362, No. 9. He says (*ibid.*, III. 515, No. 3) that between the Cape of Singaper and the Cape of Liampo there was (in 1640, when his history closes) no other Portuguese fort than that of Macao, but that the Portuguese had a flourishing trade in those seas. Prior Joao de S. Nicolau appears to perpetrate here a huge anachronism.

⁴ We have commented above (pp. 52, 53) on these 130 and odd years.

vent of Houguli, because this place was formerly subject to the said Houguli, a much bigger settlement, and so to say the capital of the Portuguese, where they had built a large fortress, a house and Church of the Confraternity of Mercy, the foundations and some pieces of the walls of these buildings being still visible at the present day.¹ The Portuguese were expelled from that town and settlement through the agency of the Cacizes² or Moorish Padres, who represented to the Emperor that the Portuguese of Houguli made Christians of their free Moorish servants, and carried off perforce women and Moorish girls for their concubines. The result of these complaints was that by the Emperor's order, 18 Nababos, each with a numerous army, came down to destroy the settlements of the said Portuguese, seize the fortress of Houguli, and put all the inhabitants to the sword. This they managed to effect through the treacherous surrender of a Portuguese half-caste (*mistiço*), who was entrusted with guarding and defending a road and an underground door, by which he admitted them into the fortress.³

Some of the Portuguese, who succeeded in escaping with their lives, never dared reappear in these places of Houguli and Bandel, because they would certainly have been killed; hence, they retired, and with them some families of the killed, to the nearest places, Chunxurá, a Dutch colony, and Chandernagor, a French colony. Subsequently, the daughters of those Portuguese who had fled or been killed married persons of those nations, so that from that time the Portuguese never returned to live either in Houguli or in Bandel.⁴ I except for these latter years one Domingo Ramos, who was married there and died in the year 1781; at present there is still another, also married, called José Antonio. All the other Portuguese who go to live

¹ Already in 1785 the ruins of a fortress(?) are supposed to be the ruins of a Portuguese Fort. The House and Church *da Misericórdia* could not have been on the side of Hugli proper, as we must conclude from Father Cahra's relation. Cf. *supra*. If ruins of a Church were to be seen in 1785 in Hugli proper, they must have been those of a Church existing in 1598. It is quite possible that the only ruins pointed out in 1785 were those of the "Portuguese Fort" so-called, and that for the rest Frei João de S. Nicolau's sentence is loosely constructed. It is true that Asaniacus (1803) also speaks of the foundations of S. Paolo's and of the Church *da Misericórdia*; but we think we have shown that they were north of Bandel. I never heard, I think, anyone at Bandel speaking of the ruins of the Church *da Misericórdia*.

² The word *Kashish* was used originally for a Christian proselyter. Cf. *Hobson-Johnson*, s. v. *Cashis*.

³ A new version of de Mallo's treachery. Anyone who took it for granted that there was a Portuguese Fort would easily connect underground passages with it.

⁴ The writer appears not to suspect that as many as 4000 inhabitants were carried off to Agra. Neither does he know that Chunxura and Chandernagar began much later than 1632, especially Chandernagar. Other blunder: there must have been large numbers of Portuguese at Hugli before the English left the place for Calcutta about 1691. The Portuguese exodus from Hugli towards Calcutta began definitely then, and it seems to have been accomplished in a very short time.

in Bengala reside at Calcutá, [p. 19] and in other places, very distant from the Bandel, where they find a livelihood, which they do not find there.

From what I have said it is clear how notoriously false and without foundation is the information that was given to His Majesty that the said Bandel was at present occupied by vagabond Portuguese, who have no law nor acknowledged government, beyond the fact that the said Portuguese fly a Portuguese flag, and maintain a priest, who exercises over them some sort of authority.

Besides, the Portuguese pavilion or flag was never hoisted in the Bandel, because the said flag was hoisted only in the fortress of Houguli at the time when the Portuguese were masters of that port. The only pavilion hoisted in Bandel is that of our Lady of the Rosary, the titular of the Church and Convent, and this only during her novena and feast. This may have been the occasion of such false information; for it is possible that one of those who went to Bengala passed through the Bandel, and, seeing the mast to which it is customary to fix the said flag, he may, without further reflexion or examination, have gone to publish in Lisbon that the Portuguese flag was flying over the Bandel.¹

To say that these vagabond portuguese maintain a priest, who exercises some authority over them, is also false, since, as I have shown, there is hardly a single Portuguese living in the Bandel. Still, such rumour is not without foundation, because the settlement, as regards its ordinary administration, is subject neither to the Moors, nor to the English, barring the cases which the laws declare punishable with death, the investigations and the infliction of the penalty belonging in such cases to the Fardar,² the Moorish Governor of Houguli. For the rest, that place is governed by the Father Missionary, the Parish-priest of that Christian community, who at present is also Prior of our Convent of Houguli.

[Follows the extract printed at p. 92. It begins with: This privilege and ends with...were selected in the Bandel.]

The estate is to-day reduced to less than one third³ through the carelessness of the Fathers themselves, and because the neighbouring Gemedares,⁴ with their usual watchful rapacity, have robbed us of all the rest of the said land. The revenues from this estate are so small that, though I left it now in better condition [p. 21] than I found it in, they amount only

¹ If the mast was an ex-voto, it would have offered a good argument to the Friar to rebut the claims of the Portuguese Government.

² Frei Luis de S. Rita spoke of "Fardar"; João de S. Nicolau has twice "Fardar." We expect faujdar. Are these local corruptions of the word, or must we attribute these forms to J. H. da Cunha Ricard who first published both documents?

³ This sounds exaggerated.

⁴ Compare this "Gemedars" with the "Jamedars" of Frei Luis de S. Rita.

to some two hundred rupees a year.¹ In fact whoever is Christian pays nothing whatever to the Convent; ² only the Moors and Gentios [Hindūs], who live there, pay a small *cassanā* ³ or quit-rent for the land on which they have their houses.

I have explained, as much as I can, what authority the Father exercises over the Christians of the Bandel, in virtue of the Emperor's privilege, and what gave occasion to his granting that privilege. But, there is always in the said settlement an Officer (*Ministro*) holding secular authority.

At the present time the Governor is a Moorish Fardar appointed by the English; at other times the place is governed by an Englishman also appointed by his Government, the English Government being now in the habit of making such appointments for the reasons which I shall recite presently: but the English have always maintained us in the exemptions and ancient privileges granted by the Emperor. And when the Governor of Houguli, or any other subaltern Officer gives us any trouble or infringes any of the said privileges, as has happened sometimes, because the Bandel has not the power to resist them, we have recourse to the Government Officials and are at once attended to and given justice.

The chief reason why the English show us this kindness and why they have our said privileges maintained, is because, though they have been so much at war with the Nababos and Rayās of Bengala, and have subjected nearly all of them to their power, it was always so ably managed that, instead of giving offence to the Great Mogor, the rightful master of all those kingdoms, they have gained his good will.

All know that, since the invasion of Thomās Colikan⁴ who plundered and ruined the Empire of Mogor, the Emperor is not only poor, but disobeyed by nearly all the Nababos and Rayās, who heretofore were subject to him. The chief and most powerful ones, like those of Arcate [Arcat], Risa [Orissa] and Bengala, rebelled against him, and became like absolute masters of the said kingdoms, appropriating to themselves his great revenues, and subjecting such as were placed over smaller states; and [p. 22] if they paid the Emperor some outward homage they gave him but a small portion, a mere alms, of the revenues of the lands which they governed.

To establish his despotic rule over all those kingdoms, the great Nababo of Bengala resolved to expel from them all the Europeans. He began with the English. He came down on Calcuta with a mighty army, took the

¹ A very small amount to what the 350 bighās left yielded about 1888.

² This would seem to indicate that the concession was made in such terms that the Christians would live rent-free within it.

³ *Alhasnā*: wealth; *darār al-ḥasnā*: the royal treasury. Here the word *Alhasnā* is used as equivalent to money paid into the treasury. Portuguese Hindostānī, at best.

⁴ Tahmas Kuli Khān or Nādir Shāh returned from Delhi to Persia in 1739.

factory and the fortress, plundered the town, and remained settled in it as master. The English, who could escape with their lives, fled to their ships and withdrew in them to Europe; but, after two years,¹ they returned to Bengala with a great fleet, recovered their fortress of Calcuta, and helped by another Nababo, to whom they had promised the power, in case they should vanquish the tyrant, they had the good fortune of defeating him in battle.

Forthwith they carried the news of this to Dely, the Court of the Mogor, and informed the Emperor of the fact that they had recovered the fortress and territory of Calcuta, which they held by a special favour of His Majesty, and whence the former Nababo (*o primeiro Nababo*),² a faithless rebel, had expelled them, without the King's order, with the intention of making himself master of the whole of Bengala. They offered to overthrow the rebel at one blow, to punish all those who resisted His Majesty, subject them to his sway and make them restore what they had robbed him of. For this they would levy troops and train them under Captains of their nation, and the English Company would be his Cercar (a name given to one who collects the royal revenues and makes payments for his master).³ The troops paid, and all other expenses satisfied, they would pay annually to His Majesty the remainder of the income.

The Emperor welcomed the proposal, and with an army of 36,000 Moors and Gentios, whom they levied, and got disciplined, the Company went on, year after year, conquering new towns and wealthy Cities, the spoils of which, distributed among the officers and soldiers, helped to make them rich. The said English Company, having now become the great Cercar, collect since 1758 the great revenues [p. 23] of the kingdoms of Bengala, pay with them their troops, officials, servants, and, of the millions which remain, they send yearly to the Emperor what they think fit, and the Emperor is satisfied with what he receives, since he received nothing any longer from the Nababos.

The English, thanks to the apparent submission they show to the Emperor, and the limited portion of his own countless revenues which they pay him, lord it in peace over all the kingdoms of Bengala and their power is continually growing stronger and stronger. Last year, the present Governor of Bengala obtained from the Emperor a Formáo or Patent appointing him his Diváo (which means immediate Lord)⁴ in all his dominions; he invested him with a new Cabaya⁵ and other insignia, which he sent

¹ They did not go to Europe, but retired to Fulta till re-enforcements came. After nearly 7 months they retook Calcutta.

² The meaning may be also the chief Nababo.

³ A *caudat* is not a collector of revenues. Frei Joáo uses Hindostani terms very improperly.

⁴ *Dáda*, tribunal; steward; collector-general of a province.

⁵ *Kadd* (vesture, jacket); the word seems to have the form *kaddya* in Barbary. Cf. *Holsten-Jedem*, s. v. *cabaya*.

him, and he [the Governor] seated himself on a throne prepared in his palace where he received the congratulations and public veneration of all.

From this it follows that, as the English do everything in the Emperor's name and with his good pleasure, and as the Company, in its quality of the Emperor's Cercar, levies all his revenues, and the Governor rules as his Divão, they must hold to his ancient decrees, when no great prejudice to him results therefrom (*de que lhe não resultar grande prejuizo*), keep and maintain unimpaired the privileges by him granted, when those who obtained them give no cause for having them revoked. The said English know very well that, by a public and solemn Formão or writ, the Emperor granted and donated to us those 760 vigas of land with the above-mentioned exemptions, so that we might live with our Christians; they know also the reason of that concession; hence, they still maintain our privileges.

As for the new establishment to be made in that part by the Crown of Portugal, I must say that the English have always been, and still are exceedingly careful and ever jealous to oppose and altogether prevent that any other European nation should come and settle in Bengala. It was the case with Mr. Boltz, their own compatriot, who five years ago came from the Empire with two ships under open instructions (*com auctoridade patente*) [p. 24] from the Emperor of Germany to take possession of the territory granted him by the Great Mogor sixty-four years ago, a concession on which he had in fact established his people and which he had held for fourteen years. The English, shielding themselves behind the authority and fictitious orders of a Nababo of their own creation, gave such endless trouble to Mr. Boltz that he was obliged to leave Bengala and take back with him the goods and the people whom he had brought with the intention of settling in the old place new colonists from the Empire.¹

The said English would like very much to exclude from Bengala the other European nations, even though established there many years before their own modern governments. They have actually given them sufficient reasons for this, and are making use of not a few means to get that the said nations should of their own accord abandon their colonies, and that their respective Companies should be compelled by the small advantages they now derive from Bengala to recall their servants from the field of their transactions. For this purpose, they have altogether forbidden them to trade in all those commodities which yield certainly the greatest profits, though all the nations were free to trade in them under the Moorish Governors;

¹ There is confusion here between the Ostend Company and the Prussian Company. Being uninterested in this portion of the document, I shall leave to others to discuss it. Cf. L. S. S. O'Malley, *Houghly*, pp. 85-91. On Mr. W. Boltz, cf. C. E. Buckland, *Dictionary of Indian Biography*.

such are: the salt industry in Bengala, the shipping from the Coast of Madrastra to that of India, also the opium of Patana, which is carried from Bengala to China and all the lands of the Malays, and brings enormous and exorbitant profits.

As for His Most Faithful Majesty's pious claim to make in the Bandel a sort of colony and fly his Royal Flag over it, so that the Portuguese merchants may have in the said Bandel their own national establishment, and derive profit from the commerce of Bengala, it would certainly be very useful for the nation and very profitable for the present poor inhabitants of the said Bandel. Indeed, because no business of any kind was carried on there, and because there was no one to whom they could offer their services, or any means of gaining a livelihood, many went with their families to the colonies of other nations and passed into the service of the foreigners. But, considering that for the reasons above-said and [p. 25] many others, which time does not allow me to enumerate, the English will certainly resist this claim with all their might, the execution of the project will evidently be most difficult to obtain. If the English pretend to have the monopoly of trade everywhere else, how much more here where the country is in their power.

I do not know what Portuguese gave already to Bengala some hints as to this claim of the King's, a matter which has already set the English speculating. Mr. Chamber, the second Minister of the Britannic Court,¹ on receiving the visit of one of our Religious who went there last year as Visitor of the Mission,² spoke to him on that subject, and told him these words:—the settlement of Bandel was a concession made to the Ecclesiastical, not to the Secular power: it is a question touching Religion, not the State.³ Hence, I must say that, to arrange this business, it is necessary to negotiate it in Europe with His Britannic Majesty and his Upper Parliament, and to obtain from both a concession, and an absolute order enjoining on the Governor and

¹ Sir Robert Chambers, knighted in 1778, joined the Calcutta Supreme Court as second Judge in 1744, Sir Elijah Impey being chief.

² Perhaps to be identified with Frei Manoel de Jesus Maria Jose, who signed the marriage register of Bandel in Nov. 1784, when he is called "Governor of this Bishopric of Mallapur."

³ It would be interesting to see the documents on which Sir Robert Chambers based his judgment. Questions which neither Sir Robert Chambers nor the Visitor nor Frei João de S. Nicolão thought of solving are probably: To whom was made the concession of 1377-80 under Akbar? To the future community of Hugli as represented by Tavares or to Goa? Did that concession not include Bandel? Did the King of Portugal not appoint officials over Hugli? We know from Fr. Cabral, S. J., that he did before 1632, and these appear to have been some officials appointed from Goa about 1657. One writes "Antonio Gonsalves (perhaps: Gil) de Brito, notary public of deeds for his majesty in this Bandel of Nossa Senhora de Guadalupe of Xatabad." Cf. Sir R. Temple, *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, II. 61, 62. The question is whether Sháhábád is Hugli. Further we may ask on what grounds was the concession of 777 bighás made to the Convent?

the Supreme Council of Bengala not to oppose, but to help in the execution of the said plan.

This is what I have to say for the moment to Your Very Reverend Paternity, so that you may comply with His Excellency's order with that due certainty and truth which I particularly desire.

The Convent da Graça of Goa, February 28, 1785.—*Fr. João de S. Isidoro.*

EXPLANATION OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS.

While this article was being printed, I received the kind invitation of accompanying to Bandel the Society's photographer for the sake of making him illustrate my paper. We went on Easter Monday, April 5, 1915, and brought back a number of photos.

1. *South side of the Bandel Convent* (cf. p. 36).—This photo was taken from the masonry bridge over the channel south of the Convent. The tower with its five stories, the statue of our Lady of Happy Voyage above the façade of the Church and the flagstaff, are the chief points of interest. It was impossible to get a photo of the statue of O. L. of Happy Voyage taken from a nearer point, the balcony in front of it affording no working room for a camera. Between the outer enclosure and the Church lie a few graves with inscriptions. Notice the South gate in the enclosing wall. The windows in the lower building on the right indicate the Prior's quarters.

2. *Chittagong Catholic Mission in 1843* (cf. p. 39).—We reproduce this woodcut from *The Bengal Catholic Herald*, Calcutta, Nov. 11, 1843, p. 268, to point out that, whatever the origin of the Bandel mast be, the practice of having a flagstaff near a Church can be found elsewhere in India and Bengal than at the Bandel of Hugli. The original has "Dominicus Michael Fernandes Delineavit; Copied by J. B. Ellis," and "T. Black, Asiatic Lith. Press, 3 Hare St., Calcutta."

3. *East side of the Bandel Convent* (cf. p. 41).—This photo was taken from below the Convent ghât. It shows the whole east side of the Convent with the Church tower south. The building most to the right is St. Augustine's Hall, which contains a dining-hall and rooms for guests. The ground-floor is now affected to St. John's School attached to the Convent. As the southern and western gates are generally closed, visitors get access to the Convent by the eastern gate, over which is a quite modern inscription with the date 1599.

4. *Western gate of the Convent.* (cf. p. 42).—This photo was taken from the public road to Keota, northwards. It is argued from the look of the figures that the date 1599 on the square stone above the gate is recent.

The boy seen on the right of the photo, Master Myaung Kyaw Min of Akyah, one of my pupils, traced the shape of the figures faithfully with chalk to make them come out. We opened the gate to give a view of the piazza in front of the Church.

5. *Plan of the northern portion of Hugli 1886* (cf. p. 45).—This represents a section of the *Hooghly Survey Map of 1886*, sheet No. 1, Sect. 1, and shows the Bandel Convent as also the Muktodasi garden where the Jesuits had their house and Church. The letters I wrote across the Muktodasi garden are explained at p. 65a. 1.—I wrote the following explanations across the plan of the Bandel Convent: Bridge; S[outh] Gate; Mast; Piazza; W[est] Gate; Church; Sacristy; Convent Garden; Prior's R[esidence]; Quadrangle; St. Augustine's Hall; old ghât; new ghât; bungalow for pilgrims.

6. *The High Altar of the Convent Church* (cf. p. 57).

7. *The Altar of our Lady of the Rosary*, left aisle (cf. p. 60).

8. *Miniature of Constantia, wife of Charles Weston* (cf. p. 62).—The epitaph to Charles Weston's wife suggested to the Ven'ble the Archdeacon W. K. Firminger to reproduce a miniature portrait of her from St. John's Church, Calcutta. Mrs. Mary Diemer, wife of the Rev. J. C. Diemer, was C. Weston's second daughter (d. at Bandel, June 3, 1782, aged 23 years); Mrs. Elizabeth Johnson, who died on March 25, 1783, aged 22 years, was another daughter of his. (Cf. E. S. Wenger's *List of Tombs*, No. 612.) Mr. Charles Weston, his son, born March 3, 1763, died on Febr. 15, 1813, and is buried in the Military Cemetery, Calcutta, where his niece, Mrs. Lydia Fulton, erected his epitaph. Finally, the old gentleman himself is buried in the South Park Str. Cemetery. Cf. *ibid.*, Nos. 554; 382.

9. *Father J. Tieffentaller's plan of Hugli, 1765* (cf. p. 64).—The date is determined by Tieffentaller's writing in the preface to his *Description de l'Inde* published by Bernouilli (Vol. I.) that he came to Calcutta in 1765 "persuaded that the illustrious English nation, which is distinguished by its humanity, liberality and charity towards the needy, would not leave me unaided."

10. *View in the S. Paolo garden* (cf. p. 68).—As soon as the coachman of our *thikâ-gâri* heard we were going northwards towards Circuit House, he asked whether we wanted to see the old Church. I said yes, and was curious to see where he would land us. He took us to the māl's lodge of the S. Paolo garden and said that by common tradition the Church had been in there. Our photo shows the māl's brother near one of the piles of bricks of which I speak at p. 69. At a distance, on the knoll, Master Myaung Kyaw Min and myself show the line of our excavations of 1914. The māl's brother assured us emphatically that the ground near the piles of bricks

on the lower ground is also *pakka* (solid). Excavations should be conducted at both sites.

11. *East Corridor of the Convent* (cf. pp. 70-74).—The photo shows the eastern corridor with 5 rooms for guests and the Prior's room at the end. These rooms for guests were no doubt formerly the cells of the Augustinian Hermits.

12. *Ruins of the so-called Portuguese Fort, Hugli* (cf. p. 80 sqq.).—We had but to say to our coachman "*Hugli Qila*" and he brought us near these ruins, saying he had shown to many visitors these ruins of the Nawab's (!) Fort. About 200 feet lower down the river there is another piece of wall protruding into the river, which I thought might have belonged to a bathing-ghât.

13. *Father Tieffentaller's Plan of Chinsura, 1765* (cf. p. 83).—This plan must have been made by Fr. Tieffentaller on the occasion of his coming down the river to Calcutta in 1765. He has left us plans of Chandernagar, Chinsura, Bandel, Murshidabad and Calcutta. The Chinsura Hermitage of the Augustinians appears to be indicated by the cross over the gate of the house in the right-hand top corner of the plan.

14. *The Armenian Church, Chinsura* (cf. p. 85).—The sacristan being absent, we could not enter the Church, the inside of which we intended to photograph. Instead, we took a photo of the outside from the terrace of the *darwâns'* quarters.

Some of our photos failed, viz. : our view from the Convent on the river, south ; the Descent from the Cross (the tableau in the sacristy) ; the Catholic Chapel, Chinsura ; the Inner view of the Bandel Convent buildings ; the Grotto of our Lady of Lourdes.

H. HOSTEN, S. J.

The Princely Beglaroffs.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM CHINSURA.

AT my visit to the Armenian Church, Chinsura, on Easter Monday, 1915, I examined again the funerary inscriptions. Six of them, bilingual ones, which I copied, have a special interest, as they refer to a family of Armenian Princes.

(Under the Church portico):—

1. [7 ll. of Armenian]. / In loving memory of our / beloved Father David son of / the late Freedone Melik Beglaroff / last independent Prince of / Karabagh in the Province of Tiflis Caucasus. / Born on 1st May 1795. / And died in Chinsurah, / on 22nd September 1884. / I am the resurrection and / the life. /

(On the south side of the Church portico, 5 others) —

2. [3 ll. of Armenian]. / Shahmir / Josephitch Melik-Beglaroff / 25th August 1883. /

3. [5 ll. of Armenian]. / In memory of / Mary / wife of Joseph Daviditch Melik-Beglaroff / A. D. 25 Nov. 1878 /

4. [5 ll. of Armenian]. / In memory of Joseph son of / David Feridonowitch Melik Beglaroff, of Karabagh, / late executive engineer P. W. D. / and Archæological Surveyor, Bengal, / born 25th June 1845, died 24th April 1907, / at Chakdaha. /

5. [2 ll. of Armenian]. / Thakuli Davidovna Melik—Beglaroff / obit 2nd Jan. 1883. /

6. [4 ll. of Armenian]. / In loving memory of my beloved Mother / Mrs. Vartheni Josephovna Melik-Beglar, / who died on Sunday the 5th March 1911, / at Chakdaha. / (P. Swaries & Co., Cal.) /

Mr. Mosrovb J. Seth refers to "J. D. Melik-Beglar" in his *Hist. of the Armenians in India*, Calcutta, 1895, p. 171. By 1895 he had retired at Chakdaha on pension. "His knowledge of Indian Archæology did not escape the attention of the Bengal Government, and he was placed on special duty, many years ago, to superintend the archæological excavations at the far-famed Buddhist temple at Buddha-Gya. As everyone knows, the temple was reclaimed from oblivion. He had the happiness of enjoying the friendship and tuition of that eminent archæologist, the late talented General Sir Alexander Cunningham, Director-General, Archæological Survey of India."

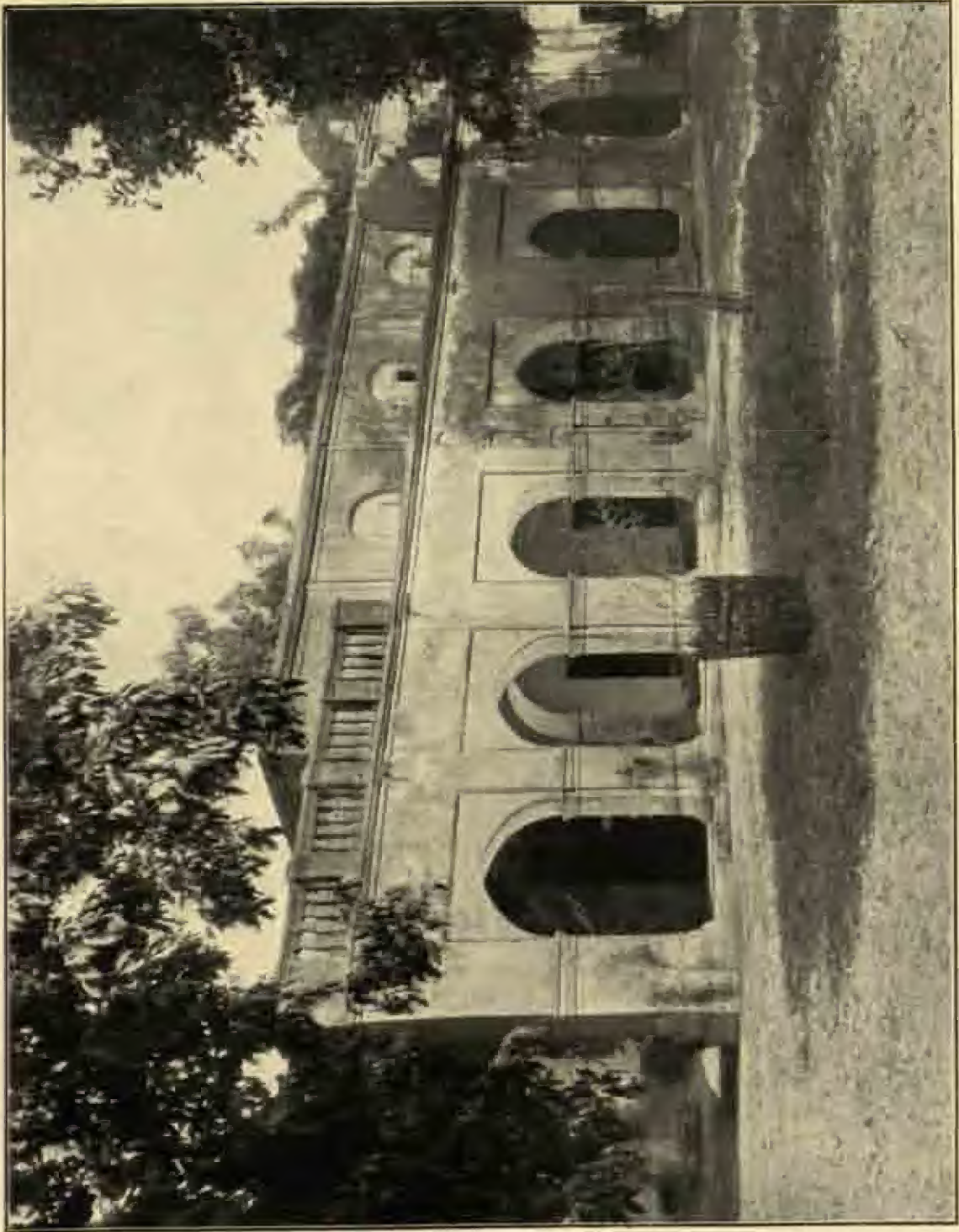
The tendency among the present Baglaroffs seems to be to drop the last syllable of their name and to treat Melik, originally a title (?), as part of their name. *Malik* means king; *mālik*, master, lord, possessor.

One should like to hear more about the claims of this family to the title of "last independent Prince of Karabagh in the Province of Tiflis, Caucasus." It would also be worth securing photos of the members of the family whose names are here recorded.

H. HOSTEN, S. J.

30, Park St.

St. Xavier's College, Calcutta.



SAIDABAD (BERHAMPUR) : ARMENIAN CHURCH.
Photograph by Walter K. Firminger.

Some Records Illustrative of the Mayor's Court—II.

(Continued from *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. VIII.)

THE following series of documents relate to a dispute which arose between J. Z. Holwell, the Collector (or Zamindar) of Calcutta and the Mayor's Court. They thus serve to illustrate the conflict of jurisdictions—(1) the Collector's Jurisdiction based on what was regarded by the English as their right as owners of the zamindari of Calcutta under the Mughal constitution, and (2) the jurisdiction of the Mayor's Court based on Charter from the Sovereign of England.

The Marriage Register (*see Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. IX, p. 225) shows the marriage on February 14, 1731, of Adam Dawson, inhabitant, and Sarah de Rosara. Dawson was the Company's boatswain. On May 17, 1734 Sarah Dawson married Francis Read, inhabitant. In the year following on April 7, she married Thomas Sesles, inhabitant, her name appearing on the Register as "Sarah Dawson."

The Register (*Ibid* p. 237) shows "1754. December 3, Fabian D'Montago and Phabe, a country woman"

W. K. F.

No. XXIV.

Fort William 19th May 1755.

Monday, 19th
May 1755.

At a Consultation. Present.
The Hon^r Roger Drake Esq. President.
The Worsh^{ip}ful Edward Holden Cruttenden Esq.
Messrs. Mauningham
Becher
Pearkes
Frankland
Collet
Mackett
Eyre
Holwell

THE BOOK of standing orders laying on the Table.

THE CONSULTATION of ye. 12th Inst. being wrote fair was now read approv'd & sign'd.

Jugdea Letter.
No. 52

YESTERDAY we rec'd a Letter from the Gentlemen at Jugdea dated ye. 4th Inst. informing us that they have had severall complaints of many of the Rupees remitted are 3 or 4 Annaes short, requesting to know if they shall remitt those Rupees back to us or be accountable to the Weavers for the Difference.

E. W. H.
Chas. for
Mar. pass'd.

THE E. W. H. Kr.* now delivers in the charges Merchse. of that warehouse for the month of March.

AGREED they do pass Errors Excepted.

Retail Acct.
for March
pass'd

THE I. W. H. Kr.† now delivers in the Acc. of sundrys sold by Retail for the month of March Vizt.

Broad Cloth by retail fine	...	13	...	97	0	0	
Allapeens ‡ by Retail	...	4	2	...	8	0	0
Velvets	...	3	...	30	9	3	
Broad Cloth fine in pieces		55	7/10	3092	8	0	

3228 1 3

L. W. H.
Chas. for
March paid

AGREED it do pass Errors Excepted the amount thereof being paid into the Treasury.

M. S. Krs.
Acct. for
April brot. in.

HE likewise delivers in the Charges of that Warehouse for the month of March amounting to C. Rs. 596-11-3.

AGREED the President do pay the same out of the Cash.

THE MILITARY STOREKEEPER now delivers in the Acct. Stores bought and expended for the month of April with the vouchers for the expences.

M. S. Kr.
advanced M.
Rs. 3000.

ORDER'D the Accomptant to examine it.

HE likewise requests money for the purchase of stores.

Acct.
Revenues for
March pass'd.

AGREED the President do advance him M. Rs. 3000 for that purpose.

THE ZEMR. now delivers in the acc. of the Hon' Company's Revenues for the month of March with the Vouchers for the several particulars.

AGREED it do pass Errors Excepted the nett amount whereof C. Rs. 6887-2-3 being paid into the Treasury.

Zemur
Muns. abt.
the Mayor's
Court
Citation.

THE ZEMINDAR represents to the Board that on the 12th Inst. one Mons. Demondtaguy & his wife Phoebe laid a complaint in the Cutcherry against the latter's Mother a black Fringy nam'd Sarah Shadow setting forth that prior to the marriage of the said Phoebe the said Sarah Shadow

* Export Warehouse Keeper.

† Import Warehouse Keeper.

‡ Allhames—perhaps arctic dls, superior, blind, wool

had prevail'd on her to secrett & lodge with her a pair of Diamond Ear-rings a Gold headed cane 18 gold buttons & a silver cup & salver telling her that as she was a Stranger to the principals of the man she was going to marry she had better conceal the above things from him and that she might have them again whenever she pleas'd this cause coming to issue before him the Defendant asserted the things were deposited with her by Phoebe for the use of a child the said Phoebe had by a former husband: but this being absolutely denied by the said Phoebe and the Defendant having no proof beyond her own assertion nor any written obligation produc'd or pretended to have been given by the said Phoebe to her Mother, he decreed the Restitution of the above things to the complainants to whom they were delivered the same day. The Zemr. further remonstrates that this day he has been serv'd with a citation to appear before the Mayor's court on Fryday next and thereto produce and deliver the above things—a proceeding he thinks so Extra judiciall and injurious to the said Court, as will he doubts not call for the Cognizance of his Board if he can [be] cited to appear before the Mayor's Court for any Decree duely pronounc'd in the execution of his Office, - the Authorities of our Hon. Masters of this Board and of that annex'd to the Office delegated to him—are nought and the whole jurisdiction of the settlement invested in the said Court he humbly begs the orders of the board touching the regard he must pay to this Citation and doubt nott their supporting him in the execution of his post from insults of this nature.

UPON taking the above minute into consideration.

Broad Cloth
to be try'd at
Outcry.

ORDER'D the Secretary to procure a copy of the Mayor's Court records in relation to this Affair & a copy of the citation serv'd on Mr. Holwell.

THE Six months being Elaps'd which we agreed to desist from making any sales of woollen Goods.

Intst. pd. off
Intst. notes.

AGREED we make another tryall the 19th of next month.

ORDER'D the Committee of Treasury to pay off the Intt. due on the Under-written notes.

To Mr. Alexander Carvalho C Rs. 582. 12. 3 for 1 years Intt. on his note dated ye. 1st December 1753 Pl. 6475. 2. 3.

To Ditto C Rs. 885. 12. 6. for 2 years Intt. on his note dated ye. 12th May 1753 pl. 4921. 1. 9.

To Gopce C Rs. 172. 8. 6 for 1 years Interest on his note dated ye. 12th May 1753.

To Gopaul Holdar C Rs. 381. 6. 9 for 1 years Intt. on his note dated ye. 11th May 1753.

To Messrs. Eyles & Orme Acct. Estate of Andrew Glendar C Rs. 615. 7. 6 for 1 years Intt. on their bond dated ye 11th May 1753 pl. 6838. 9. 9.

To C. Manningham Esq. Acct. Frances Watts C. Rs. 711. 15. 3 for 1 years Intt. on his bond dated 18th March 1754 pl. 7910. 9. 3.

To Mrs. Sophia Holland C. Rs. 284. 4. 6 for one years Intt. on her bond dated ye. 3rd April 1753 pl. 3158. 11.

To the Revd. Messrs. Bellamy & Mapletoft C. Rs. 1291. 4. 9 for 1 years Intt. on their bond dated ye. 10th May 1754.

Aurungs
supplied.

ORDER'D them likewise to supply Soonamooky Aurung with M. Rs. 5000.

Goods clear'd
by Transferr.

ORDER'D the E. W. H. Kr. to clear out Goods bought at Outcry to the amount of C. Rs. 22853. 4. which Sum being accounted for by Debiting Monickhund's Account.

Roger Drake Junr.
W. Cruttenden.
Richd. Becher.
Paul Richard Pearkes.
M. Collet.
W. Mackett.
Edward Eyre.
J. Z. Holwell.

No. XXV.

Fort William 22nd May 1755.

Thursday
22d. May
1755.

At a Consultation. Present

The Hon. Roger Drake Esqr. President.

The Worsh[ipful] Edward Holden Cruttenden Esqr.

Messrs. Manningham.

Becher.

Pearkes.

Frankland.

Collet.

Mackett.

Eyre.

Holwell.

Report
survey of the
River.

THE Book of standing orders laying on the Table.

THE Consultation of the 19th Inst. being wrote fair was now read approv'd & sign'd.

THE Master Attend. now delivers in the report survey of the River which being read.

ORDER'D it to be Enter'd after this Day's Consultation.

Mr. Holwell's
Letter to the
Board.

Mr. J. Z. Holwell now delivers in a Letter to the Board concerning his citation to appear before the Board which being read.

Proceedings
thereon.

ORDER'D it to be Enter'd after this Day's Consultation.

THE SECRETARY lays before the Board copys of two Petitions Exhibited in the Mayor's Court by Phoebe Dumontguy & Sarah Shadow as likewise a Copy of the citation serv'd on Mr. Holwell. He further acquaints the Board that he cou'd nott obtain a copy of the Proceedings of that Court as they are nott yet wrote fair. He therefore stept to the Register's Office by the President's order & read the Proceedings minutes of the material parts of which he took upon paper and now delivers in.

READ the Petition of Fabian Demontaguy and his wife.

READ the Petition of Sarah Shadow.

READ a copy of the citation.

ON Representation made to the President and Council by Mr. J. Z. Holwell Zemr. that he was cited to appear before the Mayor's Court on Friday ye. 23rd. Inst. There to bring with him and deliver into Court one pair of Diamond Earrings a Gold headed Cane 18 Gold Buttons and a Silver Cup and Salver. Decreed as Mr. Holwell informs us by him in capacity of his Office as Zemindar to be deliver'd to Monsr. Demontaguy and Phoebe his wife on the Complaint of Monsr. Demontaguy and Phoebe his wife against Sarah Shadow who was then in possession of the abovenam'd Goods, (*illegible*) The President and Council in this Circumstance as Agent for the East India Company look upon themselves as the proper Persons to have been applied to from the Mayor's Court setting forth the nature of any complaint they have to make against the Zemindar appointed by the East India Company as for explaining any part of the charter not clearly understood that they may give orders for the restraining any unlimited power which shall appear to be assum'd by our said Zemindar and their opinion in what light they Esteem such part of the charter of which their Explanation may be requir'd by the Mayor's Court and whereas the Mayor's Court their Reply is notified to the President and Council and their Resolutions on that Reply sent them thereon the President and Council doubt nott but the Citation for the Appearance of Mr. Holwell will be recall'd and all further proceedings stopt thereon.

Roger Drake Junr.

W. Crottenden.

C. Manningham.

Richd. Becher.

Paul Richard Pearkes.

W. Frankland.

M. Collet.

W. Mackett.

Edward Eyre.

J. Z. Holwell.

No. XXVI

To the Hon. Roger Drake Esqr.

Prest. & Govr. &ca. Council of Fort William

HON. SIR & SIRS,

The subject of my minute in Council ye. 19th Inst. appears to me on further consideration of such Importance (either view'd with regard to my Office or my private fortune) that a more full remonstrance thereon claims your attention & Redress. Copys of the proceedings of the Mayor's Court (prior to the Citation serv'd on me) being denied your Secretary untill they are wrote fair and read, which cannot be done before to-morrow, on which day I am cited to appear I must remain totally in the dark, as to the pretended reasons and motives on which this Illegal and Unprecedented Citation was issued; for such (supported I think with the strictest justice) I must pronounce it, nor can I pay any Degree of obedience thereto without a shamefull prostitution of your own Dignity and Authority either consider'd as a member of your Board or the head of an Office and Establish'd Court in which I act under your controul only and (I hope) under your protection. If I have exceeded the limited power of my Office, you, Gentlemen, alone are judges of that power and consequently to you only I am Accountable: If in my Decrees thro' Errors in Judgement I do injustice to any, an Appeal lyes to your superior Decision: if I have been Guilty of Oppressions or Grievances of a criminal nature, the Grand Jury were then sitting who alone cou'd properly take cognizance of them. If I had infring'd on the power or Jurisdiction Granted by the Charter to the Mayor's Court application shou'd have been made to your Board on whom I conceive it rests alone to explain any Doubtfull part of it and to determine and redress any such Infringements. Under one or other of these heads I must be suppos'd to have exceeded the Authority annex'd to my Office neither of which can come under the Cognizance of the said Mayor's Court without an Extrajudicial stretch of powers no where granted them in the Royall Charter. Their said Citation commanding a judge of a Court independant of their Jurisdiction to appear before them and deliver into their Court property Decreed away by him in the regular Execution of his Office at the Instance of a Defendant in the Independant Court.—for such is the real nature of this their Inquest and Citation, however artfully they have evaded citing me in my Judicial capacity as Zemindar, hereby not only assuming to themselves the right of Appeals from the Cutcherry in contempt of your Authority as a Governor and Council but indeed the Authority of a grand Inquest and Court of Oyer and Terminer, as will most Evidently appear when the petition of complaint comes to be consider'd on which they have issued their Citation. If the Partys complainant and defendant in the Cutcherry be consider'd as a pretence by the

Mayor's court for this Citation, one of the former being a European Christian and the other two Mustee* Christians I plead in this case the sanction of your Board whose generall sence on my applying for your opinion was, that it had ever been the practice of the Cutcherry to receive Complaints from Europeans against the Natives whether Bengallers or Mustee Fringys,* and from Fringy against Fringy, and the Records of the Cutcherry are pregnant with instances of Both kinds, wherein some of the present members of every Court subsisting under the Influence of his Majesty's Charter, will appear to have been party's Complainant in matters of property—and it has been universally known to be the practice of the Cutcherry from its Institution with (*sic*) ever been contested as an Infringement of the power or Authority of the Mayor's Court; that the authority therefore of the Office or the Emoluments thereof to our Hon. Employers shou'd be abridg'd in my Administration for the first time and before their pleasure is known, is certainly without just or sufficient cause; but allowing that the word Natives us'd in the Charter may be construed to mean Bengallers and proper subjects of the Mogull only (which I can by no means admitt) yet this Explanation thereof I conceive does nott rest with the Mayors Court, but in yourselves; who wou'd doubtless have given due weight and consideration to any proper remonstrance laid before you by the said Court on this head—but it appears they think themselves sufficiently authorised to explain it without such Application and if not check'd here it will be no matter of wonder if they explain away every other part of the Charter that clashes with the power they evidently grasp and aim at. A power which in the present instance not only strikes at the abolishing the judicall part of my Office in matters of Property but at the ruin of my private fortune as already observ'd, and that of every Gentleman who has filled the post, for if the Mayor's Court is invested with the power of citing a Zemindar to appear before them and commanding him to deliver to them the property he has Decreed away, I believe no Gentleman's fortune wou'd be sufficient to make Restitution of the claims that might be spirited up against him from such a Precedent. The same stretch of Authority by which they cite and command will if not controul'd doubtless lead them to commitment and warrant of Execution where such an illegal citation meets with a just contempt or incapacity in a Zemindar to make Restitution of whatt they may please to Command, so that on the whole he must either give up part of the trust and power of his Office (and possibly the whole if no check is put to these proceedings) or be liable to Injury in his fortune or disgrace and Insult in his person by the assum'd Authority of a court to whom he is nott nor cannott in any shape be account-

* Mustee, a corruption of Portuguese *Nativo*—"mixed"; Fringy "Portuguese" or generally "European."

able for his proceedings as Zemindar whilst a President and Council really exists in the Settlement—even supposing such his proceedings to be illegal and to merit scrutiny and censure: surely much less so in the present instance where the proceedings have been in every circumstance consonant to the Establish'd practice of the Catcherry—for whatever matter the Mayor's Court may have taken cognizance of, to give a countenance and colour to their illegal citation. The transaction before me I solemnly averr to have been nor more nor less than I sett forth in my minute and remonstrance of ye. 19th. The man and his wife a Mustee there specified complain'd against the Mother a black Mustee demanding the Restitution of a Deposit. The Deposit was without hesitation admitted by the Defendant with the Defensive plea that the things demanded were deposited with her and given by the wife complainant for the use and behoof of her Grand child—but acknowledging She had no proof of any kind, to support this Plea, I Decreed the Restitution of the Deposit, as I think any Judge must have done, and so conscious was the Defendant of the little right she had to the Detention of the Deposit that it appear'd she had brought them with her att the hearing and produc'd them the moment the Decree was pronounc'd to her; but though it was clear to me the Defendant had no pretence for detaining the things in dispute, yet I thought there was appearance enough to conclude they of right belong'd to the child, and therefore of my own meer motion, after the cause was determin'd and Deposit restor'd, I wrought a Confession from the Partys complainant that the things Decreed to them were the property of the child; and certified their confession with their own consent at the foot of the receipt executed by them to the Defendant, thereby humanely intending to give her sufficient matter to make regular Application to the Mayor's Court for the Security of the Minor—but in place thereof she is instigated to sign a Petition of complaint to the Mayor's Court sign'd also as I learn by Mr. Attorney Dumbleton wherein she literally sets forth That Mr. Holwell sent for her and took from her the things specified in the citation without the least mention or glance of their being Decreed from her in Catcherry or in any Judicial way, so that from the tenour of the Petition it appears no otherwise than that I sent for the woman and plunder'd her of the things which the Mayors Court in the Citation commands me to deliver; a matter which as I before asserted is cognizable only by a Grand jury and bench of Justices. Thus have the Mayor's Court in every shape assum'd an Authority illegal and Derogatory of every Jurisdiction in the Settlement, an Authority that cannot be parrallel'd I will be bold to say in the Annals of Calcutta, and I trust never will be again and to discountenance this procedure as well as to prevent the like Extra-judicial attempts of the Mayor's Court in future I appeal Gentlemen to yr. Board as a President and

Council. I Appeal to you as a superior Court I appeal to you as a bench of Justices against the Illegal and irregular citation serv'd on me: and lastly I Appeal to you as the Representatives of my Hon. Employers to screen and protect me from Insults and Disgraces meditated against me in the Execution of an Office to which they have appointed me and in which barring matters Criminal I am only accountable to yourselves. Praying that you will be pleas'd to order the said Mayor's Court to stop their proceedings and recall their Citation against a member of your Board who is in the present Instance in no shape within the Limits of their jurisdiction directing them if they have matter of complaint to lay the same before you as the proper judges of my Conduct.

I am Respectfully,

Hon. Sir & Sirs,

Your most Obedt. Hum. Servt.

J. Z. HOLWELL, ZEMR.

FORT WILLIAM.
the 22d May, 1755.

—
No. XXVII.

Fort William 23rd May 8 1755:

At a Consultation Present

The Hon. Roger Drake Esq. President

The Worsh[ipful] Edward Holden Cruttenden Esq.

Messrs. Manningham.

Becher.

Pearkes,

Frankland.

Collet.

Mackett.

Eyre.

Holwell.

THE Book of standing orders laying on the Table.

THE Consultation of the 22d. Inst. being wrote fair was now read approv'd and sign'd.

THE MAYOR'S COURT having sent no reply as yet to the Letter our Secretary wrote them yesterday by our orders and this being the morning on which Mr. Holwell is cited to appear before that Court he begs leave the following Questions may be put and the opinions of the Board given thereon.

WHETHER he as Zemindar has deviated from the constant practice of the Catcherry in taking cognizance of and Determining on the property which he is cited to deliver in the Mayor's Court.

Fryday 23d.
May 1755.

Proceedings
of the Affair
concerning
Mr. Holwell
& the
Mayor's
Court —

MR. EYRE desires that question may be previously put to the Gentlemen at the Board who have fill'd that post of Zemindar as he is a stranger to the practice of that Office.

It was accordingly put to Messrs. Cruttenden and Manningham the only Members that have ever been Zemindars.

MR. CRUTTENDEN says that to his knowledge he cannot recollect any case wherein two Portuguese were concern'd in a disputed matter of property, but he further declares in his conscience that had two Portuguese applied to him as Zemindar in a case of property he shou'd have taken cognizance of it, that in regard to Europeans being concern'd as Complainant in disputed matters of Property he cannot recollect of having ever undertaken to decide thereon, but that he has frequently recover'd moneys of Christians and Natives at the suit of Europeans.

MR. MANNINGHAM does not recollect any instance of this kind, to his time but believes there might have happen'd some but that in regard to Europeans he says the same as Mr. Cruttenden.

MR. EYRE then gave the following answer to Mr. Holwell's Question that in regard to Matters between Portuguese and Portuguese he believes it has been a custom to decide them in the Cutcherry, but he looks upon the present case, as very different from any common one, for when Sarah Shadow in her defence pleaded the things belong'd to the Infant he thinks Mr. Holwell ought to have declin'd decreeing thereon.

MR. MACKET is of opinion it has been the constant practice of Zemindars to take cognizance of Matters as sett forth in Mr. Holwell's minute of ye. 19th Inst.

MR. COLLET thinks he has not Deviated.

MR. FRANKLAND is of opinion that Mr. Holwell did not deviate from the constant practice of the Cutcherry in regard to deciding between Portuguese, and Portuguese from the circumstances that at first appear'd before him. But in regard to the Effects decreed upon by Mr. Holwell as Sarah Shadow declar'd they were the Property of the Infant and by Fabian Demontagny and Phoebe his Wife having acknowledg'd the said Effects to belong to the Infant in the face of the Discharge they gave for them, he thinks Mr. Holwell ought not then to have Interfer'd but to have let the Effects remain in the possession of Sarah Shadow.

MR. PEARKES is of the same opinion with Messrs. Collett and Mackett.

MR. BECHER thinks that as both Messrs. Cruttenden and Manningham cannot recollect they ever undertook to decide a case for disputed Property where an European was concern'd as complainant, Mr. Holwell has Deviated from the constant practice of the Cutcherry.

MR. MANNINGHAM says that, as he knows nott neither does he recollect any instance of the same nature as the present case, ever coming

before the Cutcherry, he cannot admit it to have been the constant practice of that Office to take cognizance of a matter of this kind which he thinks belong'd solely to the cognizance of the Mayor's Court.

MR. CRUTTENDEN is of the same opinion as Mr. Manningham.

THE PRESIDENT is of opinion that from the Complaint laid before Mr. Holwell & no other circumstances than what is alledg'd by him coming to his knowledge, he acted agreeably to the practice of the Zemindarry.

W. Frankland.

Roger Drake Junr.

M. Collet.

W. H. Cruttenden.

W. Mackett.

C. Manningham.

Edward Eyre.

Richard. Beecher.

J. Z. Holwell.

Paul Richard Pearkes.

NO. XXVIII.

TO THE HON' ROGER DRAKE JUNR. ESQR.

Prest. and Govr. &ca. Council of Fort William

HON. SIR & SIRS,

If we have nott answer'd your Hon. &ca. Council's Letter rec'd. from your Secretary of the 22nd Inst. sooner we beg leave to assure you it is farr from any want of Respect in us as we shall ever pay a due regard to your stations the sole reason being that the purport of your Letter was such as requir'd our most serious Consideration.

We observe Mr. John Zephaniah Holwell has made a Representation to you concerning some matters of Property depending in this Court and complain'd of a citation issued out of this Court requiring him to appear before us and bring and deliver into Court certain Goods as mention'd in the citation in order that they shou'd be deposited with you the President and Council agreeable to the Directions sett forth in his Majesty's most gracious Charter. In your Letter you tell us that you look upon yourselves to have been the proper persons to have been applied to by this Court in the first Instance in any cause of complaint we have to make against the Zemindarr, esteeming yourselves the proper persons for explaining any Parts of his Majesty's Charter nott clearly understood as likewise that your opinion is necessary in what light you esteem such part of the Charter as may require an Explanation—but we doubt nott but to make it evidently appear to your Hon. &ca. Council that we the Mayor's Court are by his Majesty's most Gracious Charter authoriz'd to try hear and Determine all Civil suits, Actions, and Pleas between Party and Party that shall or may arise or happen or that have already arisen or happen'd within this town of Calcutta and the Limits thereof (excepting as excepted in his Majesty's Charter) and that

in the first instance and for proof thereof we refer your Hon. &ca. Council to that part of his Majestys Charter constituting the Mayors Court a court of Record as also to a Paragraph from the Court of Directors to the President and Council of Fort St. George dated 21st February 1728/9 and the 29 and 30th Paragraphs of Messrs. John Brown and Thomas Woodford's Letter to the President and Council of Fort William dated 11th February 1731/2 Copies of which Paragraphs we here enclose. The Affair in question which has given your Hon. &ca. Council as well as ourselves so much trouble has been occasion'd by Mr. Holwell's mistaken representation to you of our Proceedings: we deny we are complainants against him, but as an Information has been lodg'd in this Court by Sarah Shadow that he had possess'd himself of certain Goods said to be the Property of a Minor now under the protection of this Court in consequence of this information we were oblig'd by the nature of our Office to cite him to appear which we look upon ourselves undoubtedly to have a right to do and which many of you Gentlemen have conform'd to without applying to the Board or calling our Authority (delegated to us by his Majesty's most Gracious Charter) in question and we do averr that where his Majesty's subjects are concern'd in cases of Meum and Teum which we conceive is the present case we the Mayor's Court only have the right of taking cognizance in the first instance, and further that as to the Nature and power of a Zemindar's Office we cannot find it any where mention'd in his Majesty's Charter, consequently we as Judges of his Majesty's Court know of no Judiciall power vested in him, and as the Court of Directors in their Letter to the President and Council of Fort William dated 12th February 1730/1 plainly tell the President and Council constituting the Court of Appeals and the Mayor's Court that they being Courts of Record their own Judgements are to govern them notwithstanding anything the said Company then said or shou'd hereafter say for by their own judgements they are to stand or fall so be assur'd that we shall ever act with the greatest Circumspection and strictest regard to Justice which we doubt nott will ever meet with the Approbation of both the Hon. Company and your Board.

By our Records it may be seen that Mr. Holwell appear'd in Court, and instead of producing the things mentioned in our citation he as a Plea for his Non Compliance tells us he Decreed them in his judiciall capacity as Zemindar to another (namely) Monst. Demondtaguy and Phoebe his wife, and adds thence he cannott with any Propriety be said to have possess'd himself of them, which Plea after due consideration the Court Unanimously having judg'd insufficient and Evasive have therefore order'd him to bring into Court the said Effects or give sufficient security and for that purpose have Endalg'd him till Tuesday 27th Inst. when we shall insist on his

compliance or that he shew sufficient cause to the contrary as your Hon. &ca. Council must be sensible it is our indispensable Duty to protect the Minor under our care and it's property from being wasted or Illegally dispos'd of.

We beg leave further to observe that we never have received an ansr. to our Address to your Hon. &ca. Council Dated 20th November 1753 but we being inform'd that Mr. Holwell has taken on him to answer it to your Board we beg you will transmitt to us a copy thereof as Copies also of any other Letters or minutes of his any ways relative to this Court as we wou'd willingly guard against any misrepresentations made to the Hon. Company injurious to this Court which from that Gentleman's former proceedings we are sensible he is very capable of.

By order of the Hon. the Mayor's Court of Calcutta Dated 26th May 1755.

WILLIAM PARKER,
Register.

No. XXIX.

To the Hon. Roger Drake Esq.

Pres. & Govr. &ca. Council of Fort William.

Hon. Sir & Sirs

The late disgrace and insult I have suffer'd in the due & customary Execution of my Office of Zemindar make it highly expedient the taking such measures as will effectually exempt me from the like in future this moves me to lay before you the following questions on which I now request your Determination & orders on consultation that the proper jurisdiction of my office may be ascertain'd & Limited.

- 1st. Whether the Zemindarry shall or may take cognizance of and Decree on Complaints fil'd by British subjects or Europeans against Hindoos & Mussellmen in matters of Meuin & Teum.
- 2dly. Fil'd by British subjects or Europeans against Fringys.
- 3dly. " by Fringy against Fringy
- 4thly. " by British subjects or Europeans against Armenians.
- 5thly. " by Armenian against Armenian
- 6thly. " by Armenian against Hindoos & Mussellmen
- 7thly. " by Armenian against Fringy
- 8thly. " by Fringy against Armenian
- 9thly. " by Hindoo's & Mussellmen against Armenian & Fringys
- 10thly. " by Fringys against Mussellmen & Hindoo's

The above queries are all that occur to me necessary for your consideration & orders touching matters of property that can possibly come before me or admitt of contest. If my memory has fail'd me the Board will be so good to mend my Deficiency; the taking cognizance of causes between Partys as specified above has been ever the constant course of practice in the Cutcherry not only here but in the Cutcherry of Chardanagore and Chinsura Houghley. Whether it shall be so here in future rests with your Hon. &c. Having often above us'd the word Fringy I think it needfull to explain the sence I wou'd be understood to have of that Word. By Fringy I mean all the black Mustee Portuguese Christians residing in the Settlement as a People distinct from the natural & proper subjects of Portugall & as a people who sprung originally from Hindoo's or Mussellmen & who by the Law of Nations canott by their Conversion to Christianity be exempted from their Allegiance to the Mogull their naturall Lord any more than a British subject is freed from his Allegiance to the King of England by Embracing the Mahomedan Faith & consequently this race of People are comprehended in the Royall Charter under the word Natives as much as the Hindoos or Mussellmen; and by this plain obvious sence of the word they are liable in Meum & Teum to the Jurisdiction of the Zemindarry only, unless as there provided both partys accord in their Application to his Majesty's Court. Thus farr I thought necessary to obviate two pretences made use of by the Mayor's Court in their Letter to this Board of ye. 26th Ultio. as reasons for their late Unprecedented & extra-judiciall Proceedings against me & my Office where they are pleas'd to sett forth "They conceive the present case to be a cause of Meum & Teum wherein his Majesty's Subjects are concern'd & only cognizable by them the Mayor's Court in the first instance. Their second pretence is ascrib'd to their "Indispensable Duty to protect the Minor under their care and its property from being wasted or Illegally dispos'd of—both which motives I conceive to be equally fallacious and void of any just foundation for to speak to the last first the Security of the Minor's property cou'd have no share in their Determinations, for by the methods they have render'd that property precarious when they had obvious means of securing it by issuing their citation against those who they knew were possess'd of it & in whose power it was to pay a full obedience to their order or sentence, which they at the same time know also was to me an Impossibility. My Decrees no ways affected or alter'd the property of the minor, nor was it any part of the matter before me the plain question on which I determin'd was whether the property shou'd remain deposited in the one hand or another. My Decree in no shape barring an immediate Application to their Courts for the security of it to the Minor if she had any just Title to it, nothing like wch. appear'd to me during the pendance of the

Cause or if it had cou'd in reason have alter'd my Decree : for why was I not to conclude the property of the Minor as secure in the hand of its Mother & her Husband as in the hands of its Grand Mother who did not pretend nor cou'd produce any proof that she had a right to detain the same further than her own bare assertion. Therefore I must repeat the security of the Minor's property cou'd not be any motive with the Mayor's Court for their Proceedings by which the partys from whome it cou'd have been secur'd are left at large to waste the same and dispose of it Illegally if they are so inclin'd—the reconciling which to their *indispensable duty* I leave to themselves and proceed to their other motive Vixt.—The Partys being subjects of his Majesty : to Investigate which I shall only in a very few words give you a Narrative of their Pedigree according to the best Intelligence I have acquir'd—Sarah Shaddock (alias Shadow) was born a Gentoo of the Cowra or Harry Cast and subject of the Mogull and was sold by her parents a Slave to Governour Deane from whose Family for some crime committed she was sold to Adam Dawlen an Englishman and had by him during her state of slavery four or five children, after which from a conscientious motive he married her and Deceas'd, she took to her afterwards a second husband who deceas'd also, and was I believe an Englishman by Name Reunes her third husband Shaddock whose name she now bears and who has been dead two or three years was a subject of Germany. One of the said children born during Sarah Shaddock's Slavery was Phoebe who married a Fryngy nam'd Pacheco Peres, who deceas'd leave a Daughter nam'd Sarah Peres ; His widow a few months since marrying Demondtaguy a subject I think of France who were the party's complainant before me against the said Sarah Shaddock—now upon what foundation of reason the Mayor's Court have pronounc'd these partys concern'd Subjects of his Brittanick Majesty I submit to yr. Honours &c. and whether they may not wth. equal propriety and justice adopt any Hindu in the Settlement residing under the protection of our Colours a Minor of their Court and solely under their cognizance and Jurisdiction. Having I think pretty clearly Demonstrated the two pretended reasons given by the Gentlemen of the Mayors Court cou'd not urge their proceedings against me, or if they did that at least they are Groundless and Insufficient, I will next beg leave to point what were their motives or what must appear as such to the world or any Impartiall Judge—Vixt., a Personall resentment in some of its Members and a determin'd attempt to strike at and subvert the Jurisdiction of the Zemindarry in matters of Meum and Teum. To prove the first needs I conceive nothing further than a generall Review of their proceedings (Copy of which I now lay before you) and the personall unhandsome reflection at the close of their Letter to this Board before quoted

which nothing but a Groundless resentment and picque cou'd have dictated, being conscious to myself so farr from misrepresenting them in my former proceedings to the Hon. Company in any light that could be injurious to their Court that I have never thought any former proceedings or contest with them of Importance enough to mention either publicly or privately to the Hon. Company—further than through the channell of this Board whose Sanction I obtain'd on the Representations of bare facts laid before you & which consequently were not deem'd injurious misrepresentations, a Talent I cou'd wish those Gentlemen were as free from as myself. In proof of my second Conclusion I refer to the particular Interrogatories put to me & my answers; Adjudg'd by them in their Proceedings of ye. 23d. May to be insufficient & evasive & no ways satisfactory; in consequence of which adjudgement they repeat & confirm their former order & finally sentence me to deliver the things into their Court or give security for their forthcoming under pains & Penalties of the Law or contempt thereof—from which sentence (impossible by me to be comply'd with) I mov'd to have the common Liberty of appearing by my Attorney and of Appealing to the Hon. The Court of Appeals both which by an unprecedented Latitude of power were over-ru'd and denied me on pretence that no final sentence Judgement or Decree was pronounc'd against me but only an Interlocutory order made for my further Appearance, though their order before recited was peremptory after Examination had and Interrogatories put and answer'd, Their second Citation of that Day corresponding therewith and peremptorily sentencing and ordering me to appear and deliver &c, as will appear by copy of their Citation now laid before you. If this is to be deem'd no final sentence or judgement I know nott what is, unless the Gentlemen were determin'd to think no judgement in the case final, but commitment on contempt thereof—which I have no reason to doubt woul'd have follow'd—thus was I reduc'd to the Dilemma of comply with an Impossible and unjust sentence or of subjecting my private fortune to manifest hazard or of going into a Jail to avoid either of which I Acknowledg'd I was ready to depositt the amount and Value of the things *on the account of and on the behalf* of the Hon. Company and appeal'd from their sentence; on these terms only in the face of the Court and in hearing of twenty witnesses I consented to making the Deposit, though the Gentlemen did not think proper to give any part of my declaration a place on their Records, and I have no doubt but my Hon. Masters will vindicate my proceedings and support me in the Execution of an office they have appointed me when it shall appear I have acted therein strictly conformable to the known practice of my Predecessors as I will manifest before I close my present Address to you. The Gentlemen in their said Letter of 26th May are pleas'd to tell you that as to the nature & power of a Zemindar's Office they cannot find it

any where mention'd in his Majesty's Charter, consequently they as Judges of his Majesty's Court know of no judicial power vested in him—here the Gentlemen pretty plainly throw off the mask and confirm the last of my two conclusions. That the Judicial power of the zemindarry was the object of their proceedings and upon this principle they may issue out their citations controvert and make Null or void every Decree that has past or may pass the Court of Cutcherry and sentence any Zemindar to deliver into their Court the property he has Decreed on or adjudg'd away, to the utter ruin of his fortune, and couch such sentence under an Interlocutory order to deprive him of all further redress, thereby demonstrating that they either will not or do not understand the Limited extent and meaning of that Term—though the Gentlemen as Judges of his Majesty's Court are pleas'd to know of no judicial power vested in a Zamindar yet as a servant to the Hon. East India Company and living under their protection, they will I doubt not be suppos'd to know there is such a judicial power in the settlement, Establish'd by the orders of their Hon. Masters, agreeable to Grants obtain'd from the Mogull at no little expence to them. That this Court of Cutcherry was not only obtain'd and Establish'd by them for the better Government of the Settlement but that it constitutes also a main branch of their Revenues which must suffer materially by the power now assum'd by the Mayor's Court, on which subject I beg leave to recite part of his Majesty's Royall Charter the which duely attended to by those Gentlemen must surely have given a check to their attempting to abridge the known Customary judicial power of an Office, instituted for the benefit of their Employers, whether they please to consider themselves as Judges of his Majesty's Court or as servants to the Company or as residing by their sufferance & Licence under their protection.—The said Royall Charter at the close thereof has this remarkable saving Clause to the Hon. Company—"That it (the Charter) shall be taken construed & Adjudg'd in the most favourable & beneficial sence for the best advantage to the said Company as well in our Courts of Record as Elsewhere notwithstanding my non recital Mis: recital, (*sic*) defect, Incertainty, or Imperfections in these our Letters Patent"—The word Elsewhere in the above clause Immediately following the mention of his Majesty's Court of Record must without any Violence done the Charter imply and mean the Court of Cutcherry or we must be at a loss for any meaning it has at all, but be this as it may the Abridgement of the judicial power of that Court now aim'd at cannot be effected without manifest Loss and Disadvantage to the Hon. Company's Revenues and consequently the attempt must be deem'd a breach of the true intent and meaning as well as a contempt of the positive Injunction above quoted, when it shall appear I have not in my judicial capacity deviated from the constant course and practice of my Office, to the

proof of which I now proceed, and here I cannot enough regret, real misfortune it is to me, that prior to my taking charge of the Office there was no Register kept of Causes determin'd there, so that it is impossible for me to specify in my own vindication the particular matters in each cause determin'd by my Predecessors: all that I am enabled to prove being by Inspection of Generall Acct. Revenues—where the Ettlack and Commission on recovery of Debts is brought to the Company's credit and complainants and Defendants names only specified by which I find in Mr. Kempe's Zemindarry 103 Causes determin'd in which Fryngy was Complainant against Fryngy, Fryngy against Bengaller, Bengaller against Fryngy and European British subjects against both—in Mr. Eyles' Zemindarry 116, in Mr. Cruttenden's Zemindarry 100—in Mr. Watts, Zemindarry 144, in Mr. Burrow's Zemindarry 20, in Mr. Manningham's Zemindarry, 41. I could have carried my Inspection higher even to the first Establishment of the Office with equal success to my present purpose, but think the above 534 Causes extracted from the proceedings of six Gentlemen my immediate Predecessors enough to trouble the board with in a case where the odd 34 wou'd be an equall vindication to me. The Partys concern'd in my Decree now under Consideration can in no shape be deem'd British Subjects whereas amongst the 534 Causes above recited I find British Subjects complainants against Bengallers and Fringys—no small number as will appear by the Extract from the Generall Revenues and particular List of those complainants: nay even I observe the Office has in one instance Febry. 1748 taken cognizance of a complaint against a British subject where Benutram recovers a debt of twenty Rupees from Mr. John Askin and the usual Commission on recovery of Debts brought to the Company's Credit. These instances premis'd and consider'd I cannot help looking back with the heaviliest concern on your consultations of ye. 23d. Ult. where by a majority of votes five to four I am in effect censur'd of having deviated in the present instance from the constant practice of the Cutcherry though from the previous opinions and reasons enter'd by some Gentn who compos'd that majority I conceive it may be very clearly gather'd that I have nott deviated at all—forgive me Gentlemen I mean nott to offend but when I find the Establish'd Jurisdiction of my office is suffer'd to be molested, myself disgraced in the Eyes of a whole settlement, and my private fortune struck at and after all a kind of sanction given to such proceedings by the votes of this Board, it is time to speak and indeed it is a Duty I strictly owe myself to prove that from your own opinions I cannot possibly be deem'd guilty of any deviation in the present instance. The two Gentlemen at the Board who have fill'd the post of Zemindarr are pleas'd to say in answer to my question. "That they do nott recollect any instances wherein two Portuguez were concern'd in a disputed matter of

property." But the first of those Gentlemen is Indulgent to acknowledge that had such occur'd he declares in his conscience he should have taken cognizance thereof, And the other Gentleman is so obliging in his concessions as to say, he believes such instances may have happen'd in his Zemindarry. That as to Europeans being concern'd as complainant in disputed matters of property they are Unanimous they cannot recollect their having ever undertaken to decide thereon, but that they had frequently recover'd money of Christians and Natives at the suit of Europeans instances sufficient I judge by this time is brought to their Recollection, not only as happening in their times but in those of four more of my predecessors—and if this was not the frequent practice of the office, I beg to know upon what principle those Gentlemen frequently recover'd moneys of Christians and Natives at the suit of Europeans or took cognizance of any such suits—to suppose any court can take cognizance of and proceed to an executive and Ultimate power in any suit and not have a power to hear, decide or decree on such suit is to suppose one of the greatest Inconsistencies that ever I believe took possession of the breast of Man. If the moneys frequently said to be recover'd were all Debts confess'd and requir'd no Scrutiny or hearing, this cannot in nature alter the case: the power to hear and decide must have been in the Office or the taking cognizance of them as ever as the executive power must be deem'd Usurp'd and Illegal. I have been the more particular on this part of the Gentlemen's opinions because another Gentleman of the Majority censures me having deviated and seems entirely to have founded his vote on their want of Recollection. The Gentlemen are notwithstanding pleas'd to close their opinions and votes by saying "That they neither know nor recollect any instance of the same nature as the present ever coming before the Cutcherry, and that therefore they cannot admitt it to have been the constant practice of that Office to take cognizance of a matter of this kind which they think belong'd solely to the Cognizance of the Mayor's Court." Had this been a matter before the Mayor's Court and of which they had already taken cognizance, the Gentlemen wou'd then have had some appearance of reason for their votes, but the contrary is prov'd. My decree in the premises being made ye. 12th of May and the first appearance of this matter on the Records of that Court being the 16th, had I taken upon me to appoint Guardians to the minor or determin'd on the Minor's claim or right in the Deposit after application had been made to that Court, I might wth. some more justice have been censur'd for deviating from the constant practice of the Office and of Interfering with the Jurisdiction of the Mayor's Court, but the present case is free from each of these causes for censure; no Application had been made to that Court; I appointed no Guardian to the Minor; I Decreed not on the right the Minor had to the Deposit, nor was

such matter before me but simply whether the Defendant had a right to detain the Deposit and if I had no right to Decree on this matter. Neither myself or predecessors had a right to Decree on any matter of property that ever came before them, for it differs not in kind from any common matter of property that can possibly be brought before the Cutcherry. Two Gentlemen of the Majority are pleas'd to censure my proceedings for interfering and Decreeing on the case after the Defendant had declar'd they were the property of the Infant but have let the Effects remain in the possession of the Defendant—the sum total of which is no more than reversing my Judgement and not strictly accusing me of a Deviation. I am sorry however, to observe it can be these Gentlemen's sense of justice, that a bare Assertion of a Defendant ought to outweigh whatever proofs may be produc'd by a complaint—but one of these Gentlemen's opinion I must beg leave to speak further to, as I conceive I have reason to complain he wrests and misrepresents the sense of my own Letter to the Board of ye. 22d. May to form his opinion on when he gives as a further reason (why I ought not to have interfer'd) the acknowledgement of the partys Complainant in the face of the Discharge given for the Effects and that they belong'd to the Infant. Whereas my Letter expressly says I wrought this confession from them after the cause was determin'd and Deposit restor'd. Having thus gone through what materially concerns my own vindication in the present case as well as what has or may concern the office in general touching matters of property I beg leave to close this part of my subject by one more Quere—*Vizt.* Whether the Mayor's Court shall or shall not be deem'd to be invested with legal Authority to cite a Zemindar of Calcutta before them and order or sentence him to deliver into their Court any Property which has been the subject of his scrutiny or Decrees in his judicial capacity?

The Resolution on this question is of such importance to the Gentleman who fills the post of Zemindar that I see not how possibly he can sit there with safety to himself if determin'd in the Affirmative. Therefore I see no Alternative, but either totally abolishing the power of the Office to take cognizance of matters of Meum and Teum or resolving that the Zemindar shall be accountable to yourselves only, or that the question shall stand refer'd to our Hon. Masters and the Mayor's Court in the mean time be prohibited interfering with the Office or the head of it but by Application to your Board.

It has been the constant course of practice in the Office to take cognizance of complaints of a criminal nature against the black Portuguese of the Settlement (Soldiers excepted) in cases of abuses assaults, Batteries and Robberies and to proceed to sentence thereon of fine, the Lash, Imprisonment and even condemnation for a Time to the Roads. The Exercise of this power, for aught I know, may subject a Zemindar to the Enquiries and

Indictment of a Grand Jury, and yet without this race of people are subject to assume such a summary power of hearing and punishing them, the Lives and Properties of the Inhabitants will rest in the most precarious and hazardous Situation. I request also the Resolution of the Board on this subject and whether the exercise of this power shall or shall not be continued.

I am most Respectfully

FORT WILLIAM

Ye. 16th June, 1753.

Hon. Sir & Sirs

Your most Obedt. Humble. Servt,

J. Z. HOLWELL.

Zemr.

NO. XXX.

TO THE HON. THE COURT OF DIRECTORS FOR AFFAIRS OF THE HON. THE UNITED COMPANY OF MERCHANTS OF ENGLAND TRADING TO THE EAST INDIES AT THEIR HOUSE IN LEADEN HALL STREET LONDON.

HON. SIRS,

We the Mayor's Court of the town of Calcutta in Bengall though we have not been favour'd with any answer to our last Address of 1st Murch 1754 think ourselves indispensably oblig'd to acquaint you by this opportunity that an Affair has lately happen'd which has given both your President and Council as well as ourselves much trouble; the particulars of the process had thereon before us is herewith transmitted you by which it will appear Mr. John Zeph. Holwell, your Zemr. or Collector of your Revenues, was cited to appear before the Court at the instance of Sarah Shadow on behalf of the Minor Sarah Perer which he accordingly did; but both before and immediately after it he presumed to deliver in several Letters to your President and Council falsely setting forth that this Court has proceeded in an irregular extra-judiciall Arbitrary and Illegal manner, and that it has assum'd an Extra-judiciall Stretch of power not delegated by his Majesty's most gracious Charter with other injurious reflections—which proceeding of Mr. Holwell with his false and groundless Aspersions cannot but be Deem'd scandalous and highly reflecting on us Judges of the Mayor's Court, and we Know of no provocation that cou'd have induc'd him to such ill behaviour in so grosly misrepresenting the case but that because we justly oppos'd him on application being made to us in matters which were only cognizable by the Mayor's Court.

We must observe that we Judges of the Mayor's Court (and being compell'd to serve in that office under a penalty of £ 50) do not conceive any person ought to be protected or even countenanc'd in casting injurious

reflections on us for any opinion we shall in our consciences think fit publickly to give & deliver in Court on the hearing of any matter brought before us as such injurious reflections on persons entrusted by his Majesty with a publick capacity must tend greatly to create ill Blood and cause a disturbance of the publick peace by endeavouring to blacken the Reputation of us in the Execution of our Office. We cannot help expressing our surprize at Mr. Holwell's pleas urg'd by him in open Court when he was cited before us that what he did was in his judicall capacity as Zemindar and Judge of the Court of Catcherry—an Officer we cannot any where find mention'd in his Majesty's Charter, which we look upon and esteem to be our only guide for our proceedings. The opinion of your President and Council is a proof of our upright behaviour and Impartiality in this Affair, when they on his second Application to them to order us to recall our Citation told him as we are inform'd that what he had done was of such a nature that they cou'd not support him in it. Mr. Holwell's reasons when he appear'd in Court for giving away in a breath an Infant's property and that to a man to this hour not known to any Person in this Settlement are so weak that we flatter ourselves you will be convinc'd our proceedings on the case have been impartial and Unbiass'd, though the contrary he has thought proper to sett forth to your President and Council. We are further to acquaint you that we applied thrice to your President and Council and requested copys of Mr. Holwell's Letters deliver'd into the Board of Council relating to the proceedings of the Mayor's Court to enable us the better to defend our character against his false Aspersions and unjust reflections, but they thought proper to refuse us them so that we find ourselves under the necessity of acquainting you thereof and especially of one particular which we have been inform'd of that when the Notes was put at the Board whether they shou'd or shou'd not grant us copies of the Letters we requested he gave the casting Vote (though a Party) that Copys should not be granted us: how can we then justify ourselves but by appealing to your Honour? Our painfull Posts expose us to envy dally as it is impossible to please all parties. Many of us your Servants, who accepted of the trust in compliance to your Recommendation, confide that in keeping sacred and Inviolable the Oath taken by us, you will both approve and protect us, as we one and all appeal to the World, and defy any to say that any one Member of the present Court ever had his name call'd in question for want of Integrity in his Office. We shou'd not have troubled you with this Address but left it to our Records to have explain'd our Conduct in this Affair, but to prevent any Impressions being made to the prejudice of us through any misrepresentations of Mr. Holwell who has threaten'd us with his Influence with you by endeavouring to make you a Party in the dispute and thereby gain your displeasure to the hurt of our

private fortunes being many of us Covenanted Servants and all of us depending on the favour of your Honour's Protection. We are with Sespect.

Hon. Sirs,

Your most Obedt. Hum. Servants

Henry Kelsall, Mayor.

Wm. Nixon.

Barth. Plaisted.

Anselm Beaumont.

James Valicourt.

William Fullerton.

William Ellis.

Impey's Birthplace.

THERE are signs that London is waking up to the need for preservation from utter destruction of many architectural and historical landmarks coming down from the past. An attempt to save the fine old house in Great Queen Street (near its Kingsway end) in which Boswell resided for a time has recently failed, but beautiful "Bradmore House" at Hammersmith, close to the Church, has met with a happier fate. This mansion formerly belonged to Baron Butterwick, Earl of Mulgrave, who died there in 1645; it was sold to the Ferne family in 1666, and was acquired soon after 1700 by a Mr. Henry Ferne, who is said to have intended it for the residence of his friend Ann Oldfield, the actress, who died in 1730 the subject of Pope's lines:

"Odious in woollen! 't would a saint provoke"
(Were the last words that poor Nareissa spoke);
"No; let a charming chintz and Brussels lace
Wrap my cold limbs and shade my lifeless face:
One would not, sure, be frightful when one's dead—
And, Betty, give this cheek a little red."

"Poor Nareissa" after lying in state in the Jerusalem Chamber, wrapped in "a very fine Brussels lace head, a Holland shift with a tucker and double ruffles of the same lace, and a pair of new red gloves" was laid to rest in the south aisle of the nave of the Abbey, and in course of time "Bradmore House" was purchased by Elijah Impey, an East India and South Sea Merchant, and here was born in 1732 his youngest son to become Sir Elijah Impey, the Indian Judge, who died on the 1st October 1809 and was buried in the family vault of the old Church within a few yards of his birthplace. The elder Impey died in 1750, and his son, Michael, continued to live in "Bradmore House" until his own death in 1794. All trace of the Impey vault has been lost.

In 1821 "Butterwick House" (as "Bradmore House" had come to be called) was sold out of the possession of the Impey family; a portion was long used as a school, and the other occupied for a time by Hopland the artist and his wife Barbara, a popular authoress of her day. Recently, demolition having become necessary, arrangements were made by the London County Council and the London General Omnibus Company, for the re-erection of the Queen Anne garden front in every detail (with the exception of openings in either wing for the passage of vehicles), together with a balustrade, partly

of wrought iron, and six stone urns surrounding the façade. The panelling and ceiling of the magnificent interior saloon have been replaced and the wainscot of a smaller room set up at the "Geffrye Museum", Shoreditch.

Members of the Calcutta Historical Society will be interested to know that Impey's birthplace has thus in a measure been preserved, and that arrangements have just been made for its inspection by the public on stated occasions.

WILMOT CORFIELD.

Leaves from the Editor's Note Book.

IN the compound of St. Mary's Church, Benares, there is a monument which recalls to memory a prominent episode in the career of Warren Hastings. The inscription runs as follows:—

(Front.)

This Monument
to the memory
LIEUT. JOHN STALKER, ARCH-SCOTT,
and JEREMIAH SYMES,
Massacred at Sewalah
on the 16 day of May 1781
Tho' Erected by the Hand
of Friendship.

(South side.)

Shall offer no praise
which themselves
might blush
to read,
yet be it remembered
that the determined Courage
they shewed
was not an Act of
Desperation!

(East Side.)

But a part of their
Character
as British Officers,
that they fell
not wholly useless to their
Country's Cause,
in the Sentiments of
Awe and respect
They impressed on their



MANER. THE CHOTI DARGAH.
Photograph by Walter K. Firminger.

(North Side.)
 Enemies,
 in the tears of
 Regret and Emulation
 they drew
 from their
 Fellow Soldiers.

Beneath the portion of the inscription on the south side it is recorded that the monument was

Removed from the
 Old Burial Ground,
 Jan. 1829.

In the *Journal of the Photographic Society of India*, on January, 1902, Mr. Arthur Caspersz called attention to the beauties of Maner, a place some eighteen miles distant from Bankipur or six miles north of Bihta Station on the East Indian Railway. Maner is famous for its two dargāhs, the Choti Dargāh of Shah Daulat or Makhdum Daulat being of great architectural beauty, the Bari Dargāh being of Mahomedan religious interest on account of the tomb of the renowned pir Yahia Maneri (died according to the Gazetteer, A. D., 1290-91.) Mr. O'Malley in his *Patna Gazetteer* is only repeating the judgment of Buchanan-Hamilton who describes the Choti Dargāh at Maner as "by far the most beautiful monument of the Mughals in Bengal." The reader will perhaps recall Thomas Daniell's coloured drawing of this building—a production, which fine as it is, does not do justice to the extraordinary beauty of its subject. The Hon'ble Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham, who took me in his motor car to visit Maner in February last, informed me that the Choti Dargāh was built by workmen brought from Gujerat. I think this fact will probably be found to account for certain features in the building to which Buchanan-Hamilton was inclined to take exception e. g. the somewhat heavy stone sun-shade, suggestive of Jain influences, which Buchanan-Hamilton had been unable to trace. The carved stone screens of the Choti Dargāh are of great beauty, but alas! in some instances much discoloured. It may be mentioned that at Maner occurred a Sipahi revolt in 1764.

Major F. C. Hirst, I. A., Director of Surveys, Bengal and Assam has recently published [The Bengal Secretariat Book Depot] a valuable *Memoir upon the Maps of Bengal constructed from 1764 onwards by Major Rennell, F. R. S.* To this work Mr. F. S. Ascoli, I. C. S., Settlement Officer of Dacca, contributes a chapter upon the legal value of Rennell's Maps. Major Hirst's pamphlet exposes the falsity of the assumption "that the

Maps in Rennell's Atlas of 1781 "are the only records of value left by Rennell, that could be put to practical use, in the directions to which they have been put already." With reference to Rennell's plan of the battle of Plassey, made almost exactly seven years after that famous event, Major Hirst remarks: "it is probable that this plan is only fairly accurate so far as river banks are concerned." I understand that Mr. S. C. Hill a few years ago presented copies of a number of Rennell's letters to the Record Department of the Indian Office. It would be a help to students if these letters could be included in a future number of *Bengal Past and Present*. It is probable that a number of Rennell's letters could be recovered from the records of the Murshidabad Comptrolling Council of Revenue. I myself came across two letters while very rapidly examining the Consultations of that body, and these letters have been printed in the *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (new series)*, Vol. IX, No. 4, 1913.

*Extract from the Consultations of the Comptrolling Council
Revenue, Murshidabad.*

TO SAMUEL MIDDLETON, ESQ.,

14th Feb. 1771.

Chief of the Comptrolling Council of Revenue.

BELUCHY.

SIR,

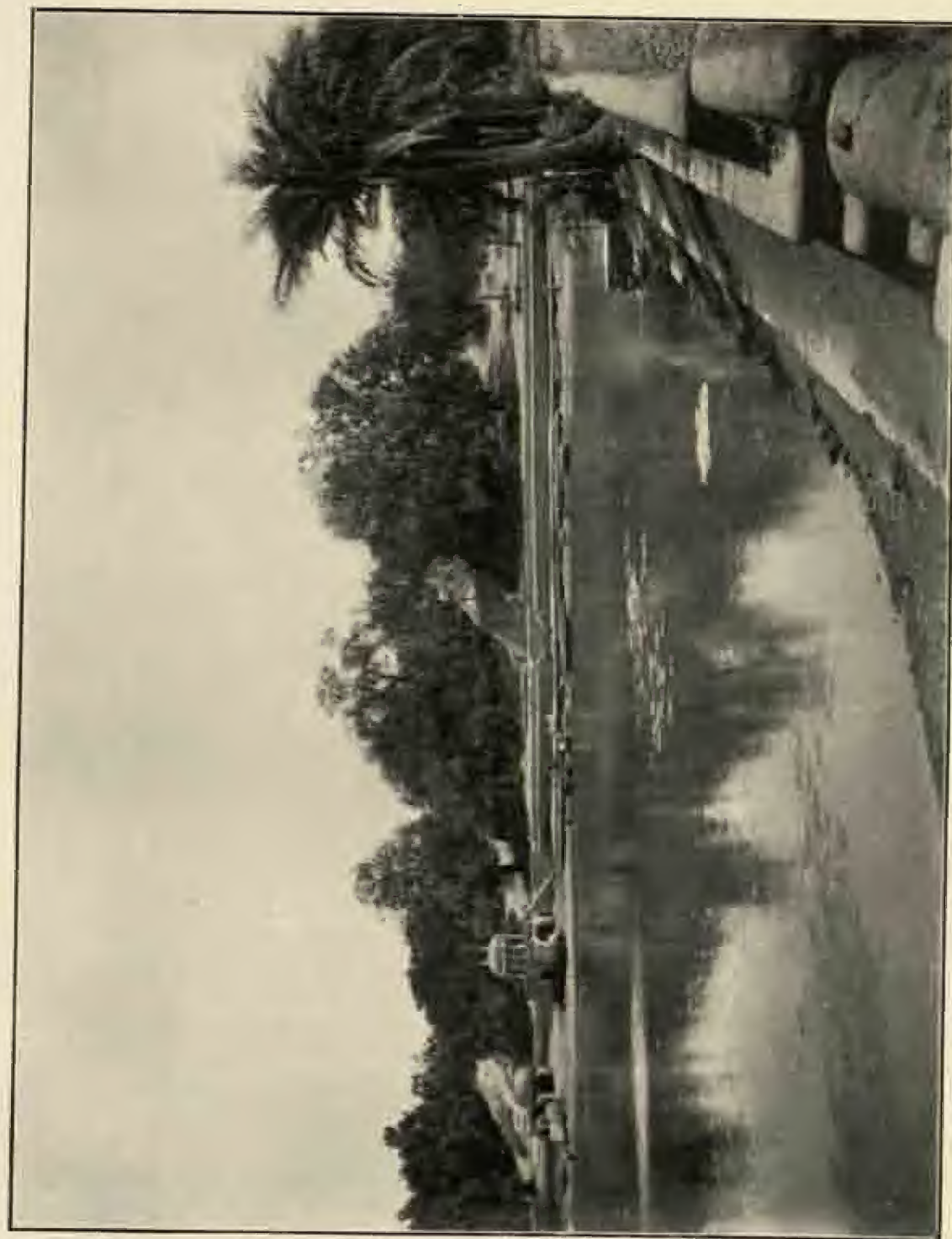
10th Feb., 1771.

I think it is my duty to inform you that there is now in this part of the country a large body of fakirs who are laying all the principal towas under contribution. They were yesterday at Lutchimpore, 4 coss from this place; and, after receiving two hundred rupees from the Gunge Daroghia, marched southwards into the Pucharyah districts. By the accounts I have from an intelligent person, whom I sent to watch their motions, they are about a thousand in number and tolerably well-armed. They came from the western provinces about a month ago, and traversed the Dinagepore and Goragaut districts in their way.

As there is no force in this part of the country, I imagine they will continue in it till they have plundered all the principal places. I have met several of their detached parties, which are indeed scattered over the whole provinces of Radshaye and Goragaut. I have enclosed a route to this place and a sketch of the country, in case you may think proper to send any force after these miscreants. The country hereabouts is so entirely intersected by rivers and nullas that there is scarce any possibility of travelling with guns.

I am, etc.,

JAS. RENNEL.



MANER. STEPS OF THE BARI DARGAH IN BACK GROUND.

Photo by Mrs. Holmwood.

Extract from the Consultations Do., 7th March, 1771.

The Chief lays before the Board the following letter from Capt. Rennell:—

TO SAMUEL MIDDLETON, ESQ.,

Chief of the Comptrolling Council of Revenue.

SEERGUNGE.

1st March, 1771.

SIR,

I have the pleasure to inform you that I joined Lieut. Taylor's Detachment the 24th ultimo and followed the route of the fakirs towards the Hoannah districts, they retreating that way on hearing that they were pursued, Lieut. Feltham, with the Rungpore Detachment, taking the road to Goragaut and Gobingunge, surprised their camp in the morning of the 25th, and after a short skirmish defeated and dispersed them, taking their camp and baggage and a few prisoners. Their Chief, Shuk Mun Jenoo, fled on horseback to Mustan Ghurr * (a dirgah), where he was joined by about 150 of his followers, all disarmed and many of them wounded. The rest to the number of 2500 are dispersed in such a manner that two of them cannot be found together, so that it is impossible to pursue them with the sepoy. They all throw away their arms in their retreat, and the villagers falling on them killed great numbers.

I marched to Mustan in hopes of taking the Chief prisoner, but on my arrival found the place empty, and was informed that he went off with a few followers on the road towards Purnea. Upon this I sent a Jimautdar's party after him with orders to follow his route four or five days' journey; and I am in hopes that the Jimautdar will be successful, and Mun Jenoo is diseased and cannot travel fast.

We picked up provisions in our march which, together with that taken by Lieut. Feltham, shall be sent to Moorshedabad.

As it is probable that some of the fakirs dispersed over these districts may unite again and commit depredations, I have directed Lieut. Taylor to remain at this place with 45 sepoy, which, together with the party under the Jimautdar, make one complete company. The other company is to return to the City, as soon as they have refreshed themselves, for which I have allowed them four days.

I wrote to the Supervisors of Dinagepore and Purneah to inform them of the event, that they may take measures for intercepting any parties that may retreat through their provinces. As Mun Jenoo is an inhabitant of Morampoor, I suppose he will endeavour to retreat to that country.

* Mahasthan —the ancient capital of the Pod dynasty. W. R. F.

As Mr. Grose* has occasion for the sepoy's under Lieut. Feltham, I have directed that officer to return to Rungpore.

I must beg leave to mention to you the behaviour of Lieut. Feltham, whose bravery and vigilance have contributed so much to the success of the Expedition.

As the service on which I was sent is now finished, I have left the command to Lieut. Taylor, and shall return to the business which I was before employed on.

Having examined the hill and dirgah of Mustan Ghurr, I think it my duty to inform you that its natural strength, together with a small portion of harbour on the side of the faquirs, will make it any time tenable against a strong detachment, the hill being in most places extremely steep and skirted with thick woods. The dirgah there affords a pretence to the faquirs to assemble, and at the fair which is held in December they are furnished with arms of all kinds, and commonly sally forth from thence 2000 strong. This in particular has been the case last year.

I am, etc.,

JAS. RENNELL

The service in question having been successfully accomplished, the Chief acquaints the Board that he has recalled Lieut. Taylor's party, and begs leave to recommend, in consequence of the account Capt. Rennell gives of the dirgah of Mastangur, that a small party of sepoy's be now thrown into it and kept continually stationed there in order to discourage the future rendezvous of these banditti.

After sending the above to the Press, I came across the following :—

TO RICHARD BECHER Esq.,
Chief of the Comptrolling Council
of Revenue at Moorshidabad

BOWANYGUNGE,
Dec. 9-1770.

Sir

I beg leave to lay before you a complaint against Caddar Beg, a Mogul and Zemindar of a small district named Pulsah lying about five coss inland from Godagary. I am employed on a survey of the roads etc., on the north side of the Ganges, and halted near Pulsah the 5th instant at noon. A few minutes after our arrival, the Villagers came armed and threatened to fall upon us. I asked them if they had any complaint to make : they abused me and told me, and insisted, that I should go away. We soon dispersed them

* John Grose, Supervisor of Rungpur, died in April, 1771. See *Bengal District Records : Rungpur*, Vol. 1.



MANER, THE CHOTI DARGAH SEEN ACROSS TANK,
Photo by Mrs. Holmwood

without making use of any weapons, as I never suffer a sepoy to fire till matters come to extremity. Whilst they were in the action of running away we caught one of them, a Burkundias, who had intangled himself in the jungle. I inquired of him whom the village belonged to, and (after disarming him) sent him with a message to Ceddar Beg, informing him of my business in these parts.

From this time none of my people entered the Village, although everything seemed quiet; yet, about two hours afterwards, a Mogul (Ceddar Beg) appeared on horse-back and with him a very great rabble, some of them with matchlocks, the rest with pykes and swords, etc. Without sending me any messages, he came within call and told me that he was come to fight me. I was obliged to have recourse to my sepoys, but hoping to end the matter with little bloodshed, I aimed a single shot at the Mogul which however missed him, but killed a man close by him. This had the desired effect of making them retire to a greater distance, but they kept us in continual alarm by sending parties into the jungles on every side of us. During the time this Mogul remained in sight and sent me several insolent messages—one of them in particular so full of abuse and menaces, that I thought myself fully authorised to chastise the messenger—which I did. The notes contained hints of his independence together with orders for me to depart. To one of these last I replied by showing the messenger the seapoys, arms and camp equipage, by which he might be assured that we belonged to the Company, for the Mogul affected to believe that we were robbers. Even after this he persisted in sending his messengers and using threatening gestures, till, finding it had the opposite effect, he fell into the opposite extreme and began to apologise for his behaviour, which he imputed to his ignorance of my station and employment. You may imagine, Sir, that this plea was extremely ill-founded; after I had taken such pains and exhausted my patience to convince him. As he is now acknowledged his conviction, I desired his personal attendance which he declined.

I flatter myself, Sir, that the above relation needs no comment to convince you of the great affront they received, and through me (as I conceive) my Employers likewise. I have not yet laid an account of it before the Governor, hoping that you will do me the Justice the case requires.

I remain, with respect,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant

J. RENNELL.

The following interesting letter has been copied for me at the Imperial Record Department:—

CHANDERNAGORE,

24th May, 1759.

TO THE PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN COUNCELLORS ATT CALCUTTA.

Frere Daniel Capuchin and Superior of the Hospital for Monks; of the Reverend Father Capuchins, Italian Missionarys Apostolick of the Holy See of Rome, in the Kingdom of the Great and Small Thibeet in the Patna, Bettia, Nepaul, Kutmandon and Batgao, Requests most humbly the President and Gentlemen of Council to have regard to what follows.

First—Your Petitioner is much alarmed at hearing that you Gentlemen have taken the Resolution to order their Home, and the Church of the said Fathers to be erased particularly as they are not French and have nothing in Common with the French Nation Saving the Protection of the Flag, whilst they had the power to hoist it on the Weak Bastions of the Factory here in Chandernagore, on their having lost this power the said Father Capuchins immediately put themselves under the protection of the English Flag as was permitted them by the two English Admls., when they become Masters of the place, also Mr. Drake former Governor of Calcutta, and by the Present Mr. Clive Colonel of his Britanick Majestys Troops in Bengal.

Secondly—The Suppliant begs the President and Gentlemen of Council to reflect that in blending the said Fathers with the French you distress them much more than the French who have their Own Nation to Nurrisch them and who takes all possible care of them, whereas the Italin Father Capuchins neither belong nor have any Connection with the French Nation, and not having entered their Interest neither during the Seige which they expressly avoided that they might not give umbrage to the English nor on any other Occasion, had they reason to expect any succors from that Quarter. In fact, did they make mention of them in the Articles of Capitulation, have they afforded them the Least Subsistance Since the taking of Chandernagore, Judge from hence if the French will ever assist to rebuild their house and Church should it be destroyed and Consequently by Supposing to treat us as French you treat us a hundred times worse abandoning us as prey to Misery without any one to have recourse to, brought by their Profession of Apostolick Missionarys and Ministers of the Gospel they are Friends to the English and all the Nations of the Universe.—

Thirdly—The Petitioner thinks himself in right to represent that this House and Church of the Italin Fathers Missionarys Should be looked upon as a Priviledged Building belonging to a Sovereign Power the Court of Rome.

It is not the Priests who are the Proprietors of these Buildings but the Holy See, who as a Sovereign Prince requires that their Houses Should be respected in what ever part of the World they are found. Moreover the Churches which exclusive of the Protection of Sovereign Princes, Claim the Protection of the King of Kings, and it is Certain the most Barbarous Nations have not denied Immunity to Temples Consecrated to the Service of the Most High though irritated to the Greatest degree and though they demolished all other Buildings. From this Weigh by reason your Petitioner hopes to Obtain from the English the most enlightened the most generous and the most humane Nation of Europe not ignorant of the Laws of Justice, of the rights of Nations and Individuals and which of Consequence must be fully satisfied that Missionarys destined to the Conversion of Infidels are exempt from the Revolutions which happen in States, and that they Cannot be regarded as Criminals the more for being settled in one Colony than in another, nor involved in the Changes which happen, this being detrimental to the Propagation of the Faith, and the Progress of the Italian Religion.

This Gentlemen is the Substance of what the Petitioner begs Leave to represent. But to shew more Plainly the wretched situation which you will reduce us the Italian Priests Missionarys of the Mission of Tibet, I must add, that this House and Church which you have Resolved to destroy have always been the Support and Assylum of the Missionarys, which are.....from Europe, that by this Channel the Correspondence with the Mission and with Rome is carried on and to deprive them of this recourse will endanger and almost entirely Ruin the Mission which may Occasion a Controversy not only at the Court of Rome, but also at that of England.

But O! my God it is possible you can make such strange Resolutions against the poor helpless Italian Missionarys, you who have always been their Protectors whether at Madrass, Bombay, Bengall or Elsewhere. What Misfortune of Ours can have incited your Indignation against us, you favour us with your Protection and destroy us the Same day—you regard us as People who have Never injured the English Nation, and on that Accot. have twice put us in Possession of Our House and Church, and now you would utterly destroy us. You tell us the French are the Causes of this Change of Sentiments. I grant it, but Shall you think yourselves well revenged by founding us with them, be persuaded Gentlemen you may do us the greatest Injury in the World, without Causing any Frenchman to drop a Single Tear. The Reason is evident we are not French nor Servants to the French; therefore whatever can befall us will be indifferent to them. Moreover by your Vengeance on us to attempt to revenge yourselves on the French will be in effectual and will only retort on us—To Conclude we Acknowledge you to be Our Masters, behave to us like Masters and not like Enemy's, which is

what Your Petitioners request having the honour to be with the most profound Respect.

Sir & Sirs

Your most Obedt. Humble Servant,

F. DANIEL.

Capuchin.

After an interval of nearly thirteen years, I re-visited last year the old Armenian Church at Saidabad (Berhampur), and was much distressed to notice how rapidly that interesting building is becoming a ruin. Owing to the then bad condition of the roads, the Society was not able, on the occasion of its visit to Berhampur, to inspect the Church. A tablet over the principal gate way bears the date 1758—the year after Plassey. I have been told that once a fine oil painting was in position over the Altar. The frame work still exists, but the painting must have been roughly removed—I suppose by a thief—as fragments of the canvas remain in the frame in evidence of the sad fate of the picture.

WALTER K. FIRMINER.



MANER. "The SYDOOL."
Photo by Mrs. Holmwood.

and eldest son of
Thos. Tarleton Esqre.
of Charlton Lodge
In the County of Cheater
who died at Alexandria
May 8th 1832, Aged 21.

(iii.)

Here lie the Remains
of JOHN EDMUND LYON, Cornet
in the 4th Regiment of Dragoons
who died at Alexandria on the
21st August 1835, being on his
Route overland from England
to join the Regiment in India
Aged 20

(iv.)

Secred to the Memory
of
GEORGE FRASER
who departed this life the 15th May 1831
aged 28 years.

He was a native of Arisaig,
in the county of Inverness, Scotland
"Reader, be ye always prepared
For ye know not the day, nor the hour
when the Son of Man cometh."

NOTE. (i), (ii) and (iii) concern India. I do not know who George Fraser was: there are other epitaphs of local interest only.

While on the subject of Fraser, I find that there were two Frasers murdered at Delhi, viz: (i.) William Fraser, Commissioner and Agent of the H.I.E.C. at Delhi, and local Major of Skinner's House who was murdered on 22nd March 1835, by Nawab Shams-ud-Din Khan of Ferozpur (Gurgaon); he met with his death in the road below "Hindu Rao's" House, which had been Fraser's house at Delhi. (ii.) Simon Fraser, Commissioner of Delhi at the time of the Mutiny and killed in 1857.

There are tablets to both in St. James at Delhi; also the grave of Sir Thomas Theophilus Metcalfe, Bart: B. C. S., who died on 3rd November 1853, aged 58, while there was another Theophilus Metcalfe at Delhi during the Mutiny.

The Skinner Monuments in St. James at Delhi are numerous; I noted:
(i) Capt. Robert Skinner, died 1821.

- (ii) Colonel James Skinner, C. B. who died at Hansi on the 4th December 1841 and was buried in the church on the 19th August 1842.
- (iii) Major James Skinner, Adjutant, who died on the 23rd April 1861.

There are others, and also a lot of Skinners and others are buried in a mango tope near their house at Bilaspur, (Sikandarabad E. I. R.).

I came across the following in an odd volume of the Surtees Society (1875), regarding a Robert *Dering* (1666-1683). Born at Maldstone, son of Christopher Dering, Bar-at-Law and Secretary to Lord Chancellor Nottingham. Sent to India as writer 1680, and died "at the East Indies" 1683. There is also a record of "Sister Mary Dering" (born 1668) going to India in 1702 and returning in 1714. (This information is from the Autobiographical Memoranda of Dean Dering, Dean of Ripon; 1663-1750.)

Do you know anything of *Cheap* "the Magnificent"? He introduced indigo cultivation into Birbhum, and brought machines from England for refining sugar and started a firm in Calcutta which ceased to exist in the middle of the 19th cent. He was first Resident at Súrál (Suri) a village in south Birbhum. This place was the site of the H. E. I. C.'s Commercial Residency and formerly the centre of the Company's trade in Birbhum. Hunter in his "Gazetteer" says that in the latter years of the 18th century the Company spent £45,000 to £65,000 annually on mercantile investment at Súrál. Cheap exercised magisterial powers. Hunter says the ruins of the Súrál factory crown the top of a small hill visible for miles.

There are 4 graves in the Station Master's garden at Patna, 3 are nameless.

HER UNTER HOÜFER

JORGEN HENRICH

BERNER

F607

DEN 22DE JULJI 1735

D00

DEN 7DE AUGUST 1790

A letter of later date and an article from Mr. De Cosson have reached the Editor and will appear in the next number.

Calcutta Historical Society.

PROCEEDING OF THE ANNUAL MEETING.

PROCEEDINGS of the Annual Meeting of the Calcutta Historical Society held at the hall of the Asiatic Society of Bengal on March 9, 1915 at 6 P.M.

PRESENT:

1. His Excellency the Governor of Bengal, *in the chair*.
2. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Herbert Holmwood.
3. The Hon'ble Mr. J. G. Cumming, C.I.E.
4. The Hon'ble Lt. Col. W. J. Buchanan, C.I.E.
5. Sir Rajendranath Mookerjee, K.C.I.E.
6. The Venerable Archdeacon of Calcutta, W. K. Firminger, M.A., B.D.
7. Mr. R. D. Mehta, C.I.E.
8. Mr. H. G. Graves.
9. Mr. Alexander Cassells.
10. The Hon'ble Mr. Surendranath Roy.
11. The Hon'ble Rai Preonath Mookerjee Bahadur.
12. Rai Lalit Mohan Sing Bahadur.
13. Mr. G. O'Connell.
14. Mr. W. H. Phelps.
15. Mr. C. F. Hooper.
16. The Rev. Father H. Hosten, S.J.
17. Mr. S. C. Sanial.
18. Mr. J. Hart.
19. Mr. W. C. Beaumont.
20. Mr. C. J. A. Pritchard.

On the motion of the Venerable Archdeacon of Calcutta, His Excellency Lord Carmichael occupied the chair and asked the Venerable Archdeacon to address the meeting. The following address was then delivered :—

In the first number of *Bengal Past and Present* there was included a paper entitled "Our Work." This paper, written by myself, but put forth with the approval of the Council of the Society, reviewed (with alas! some unpardonable omissions) the work done by various scholars in the past, and indicated certain fields of research remaining partly or wholly unexplored. The delivery of an annual Presidential Address has not been a custom in this Society, and the paper referred to has, therefore, been the nearest approach made to an official review of the Society's position. I am not about

to enter upon an attempt to show how far the Society has either failed or succeeded in carrying out the programme tentatively put forward in 1907. It may perhaps be fairly claimed that the nine large volumes of *Bengal Past and Present* issued to date contain a sufficiency of good things to go some way towards redeeming the undertakings of the past.

In view of the fact that this afternoon we are closing the first year of the Society's renewed activities, the Council are of opinion that it would be well if, before handing over office as President, I addressed the members on the subject of the Society's work in hand. Before attempting to comply with this demand, I must take advantage of the opportunity and say how sensible I am of the great honour done me by the Society when it appointed me to be its President for the year now past—an honour which His Excellency the Governor has made all the more greater by his gracious acceptance of the office I am now about to place in his hands. I feel that I should be causing all concerned the greatest disappointment if I failed to say how pleased and satisfied you all are that His Excellency has been able to identify himself with the Society's interests in this most convincing way.

Bengal Past and Present is, of course, the leading feature of the Society's work. It is by our Periodical that we are able to sustain the interest of our many subscribers who are not resident in Calcutta. The word "Bengal" in the title enables the Society to draw upon a wide store of materials, for Bengal can be understood in the historical, and not in the mere geographical sense, as connoting the historical Presidency of Bengal. It is the policy of this Society to avoid, as far as possible, taking up subjects which fall under the customary survey of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The definition of work laid down for that Society by its revered founder, Sir William Jones, is indeed broad enough to cover all the work attempted by the Calcutta Historical Society, and if our Society had never come into existence, I must confess that I, as a member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, would have preferred to see the venerable Asiatic Society of Bengal developing a department of Indian modern history. The absorption of the Calcutta Historical Society into the bosom of the Bengal Asiatic Society was at one time considered as an alternative to the abeyance into which the former Society fell in 1911; but the difficulties in the way proved to be insurmountable. As our Society must exist apart, it will be well that the economic principle of the division of labour be kept very clearly in view by those who are responsible for editing *Bengal Past and Present*.

At the time the Society went into abeyance in 1911, a number of very capable writers had been drawn into the service of *Bengal Past and Present*. We could then count upon occasional suggestive, though perhaps brief, notes from Dr. Buxteed and Mr. William Irvine. The late Mr. Keith's beautifully illustrated articles on the antiquities of Gaya and its neighbourhood were most attractive. These writers have passed away to their rest. Our friend, Elliot Walter Madge, whose sweet personality was so dear to all who had the privilege of his friendship, had an almost unrivalled knowledge of many departments of Calcutta history. Sometime must of necessity pass by before these helpers whose names I have mentioned can be replaced. May I venture to take this opportunity

of suggesting the propriety of placing on the walls of the Imperial Library a tablet commemorative of the esteem in which we held the late R. W. Madge both as an authority on his subjects and as a self-sacrificing friend and guide to all who shared in his studies? With a dislike for superficial work and a quick eye in the detection of inaccuracies, Mr. Madge was one who well understood that all valuable pioneer work must be exposed to a criticism, which, however disparaging it may seem to the mere onlooker, is in reality just what a really sincere worker will welcome. It could not be claimed for him that he was in any way an historian; but no one can doubt that he was a genuine antiquarian. Compelled by the circumstances of his household to supplement a far too small income by work for the Press, he was at all times ready to give away journalistic chances in order to enrich an easily ignored foot-note in the pages of our Society's Magazine. It is scarcely possible for me to say how much I have missed during the past years' work not only the information with which my dear friend could alone have supplied me, but what I should humbly wish to value infinitely more—the enthusiasm and encouragement, the scholarly example, the loyalty to truth and to friendship of that self-sacrificing helper—Elliot Walter Madge. R. I. P.

One of the first duties of a local historical society is to arrange for publications of ancient registers of births, marriages and burials. In *Bengal Past and Present* we have so far been able, thanks to the approval of the Government of Bengal given by Sir Andrew Fraser and the courtesy of successive Senior Chaplains of St. John's, to publish the Church of England Registers:—

Baptisms 1759-1766

Marriages 1713-1754 and from 1759-1785

Burials 1759-1761

It needs perhaps to be pointed out that these registers are not only of interest on account of the light they throw on biographical or genealogical problems, but that they supply materials of the greatest importance in the study of the social history of Calcutta. Where, for instance, did the English in Calcutta in the older days look for a supply of wives? Did English girls come out from home "on spec," indentured for, or to fulfil engagements entered into in the old country? Or was it the case that the supply of British-born ladies being scarce or almost nil, the Company's servants and substantial free merchants, mariners, and inhabitants took to themselves ladies of Indian-Portuguese extraction? Is it the fact that in many cases the bond of strict matrimony was altogether evaded? Can these Registers help to answer these questions? I am afraid that the Baptismal Registers of St. John's from about 1778 onwards are so full of entries relating to illegitimate children, that whereas the marriage and burial records have been published *in extenso*, I felt it wiser to give only selections from the Baptismal Registers. It is not usual, I am told, to exercise such a discretion in regard to registers more than two years old, and historical societies in England when they deal with registers of births or baptisms do not hesitate to publish painful facts. Mr. Punch, however, is a counsellor in whom we all repose the utmost confidence, and you will neither forget Mr. Punch's "Society for the Perpetuation of Unpleasant Memories," nor wish our Society to shape itself on that model.

It has been said that in the good old days when Warren Hastings held court at Alipore there arrived each season in the Hughly what till quite recently was called at Malta "the fishing fleet"—consignments of fair but impecunious maidens sent out to angle for husbands beneath the spreading boughs of the then flourishing pagoda tree. Years before this Richard Barwell had in his cynical way alluded to such an institution, but later on Foote in his comedy *The Nabob*, is near to the point when he makes the odious Sir Mathew Mite seek to lure the high born but needy Sir Thomas and Lady Oldham to give him in marriage their eldest daughter on the understanding expressed in strictly commercial terms, "and that the principals may have no cares for the younger parts of their family, Sir Mathew will at his own expense, transport the two young ladies, Miss Oldham's two sisters, to Madras or Calcutta, and there procure them suitable husbands."

It may be remembered in favor of "the fishing fleet" theory, that Thackeray in *Vanity Fair* tells how Mrs. Hardyman "had had out her thirteen sisters, daughters of a country curate, the Rev. Felix Rabbits, and married eleven of them, seven high up in the Service" J. H. Reynolds, a friend of Keats, wrote:

"Go where the water glideth ever,
Glideth by meadows that the greenest be,
Go listen to our own beloved river,
And think of me."

Tom Hood parodied these lines thus:—

"Go where the maiden on a marriage plan goes,
Consigned for wedlock to Calcutta's quay,
Where woman goes for mart, the same as men goes,
And think of me."

In a letter written in 1765 Colonel Webb, the father of the Webb girls who came out to India and married one of them William Makepeace Thackeray of Sylhet fame and the other Peter Moore, the friend and supporter in after years of Richard Brinsley Sheridan, solemnly writes to his son, "I must now busy myself with putting your sisters out." Lady Ritchie, in a charming introduction to her illustrious father's *Ballads and Miscellanies* suggests, that "the putting out" of Col. Webb's daughters was shipment to India. As the eldest of the Webb girls is said to have been 17 at the time of her marriage in 1776, the Colonel, one would be inclined to think, must, if Lady Ritchie's interpretation of the "putting out" operations be correct, have been somewhat of a martyr to paternal preoccupations. But perhaps, if Amelia Webb was only 11 years old when her father began to busy himself in the way described, let us remember that the illustrious Begum Johnson commenced her career of "intermarrying" at the age of 13, that Catharine Noel Verlé was married when fourteen to the unspeakable G. F. Grand, and please note that Sarah Webb, who married Peter Moore at Patna on January 10, 1774, is supposed to have been a year younger than Amelia, that is to say, she can not have been many months over fourteen years of age at the time of her marriage, and not fourteen when she reached India. Two other Miss Webbs were put out to India; one of them Augusta married

a Mr. Thomas Evans on November 20, 1778; the other and the youngest Charlotte seems to have been exposed to some illfortune, the nature of which it is impossible to conjecture, but we catch just a glimpse of a high spirited child "still wearing short frocks with her hair on her forehead" repelling the advances of a suitor, who as Mrs. Moore put it, had the detestable habit of "stopping to supper without being asked," with the brief but decisive refusal of an intermarriage :—"Bless me, Sir, you are mad, sure." No doubt the crafty elder William Makepeace Thackeray in bringing out his two sisters to keep house for him at Dacca, had some further aim in view than that of the simple Captain of the *Hyperion* who on an altogether regrettable occasion had his daughter on board "to bear him company." One Miss Thackeray married the Surveyor General of India; the other the Chief of Dacca. Yet still, despite all these picturesque facts my imagination, and my imagination only, conjures up the picture of some brocade and silk vested elderly gallant stumbling up the steps leading to St. John's cool and ample portico, appraising through his quizzing glass the last arrived bevy of beauties from England or St. Helena, either to proffer the momentous invitation "Madam, will you walk," or else to return home to curse Creighton and his damnable claret and oysters, and, over a surfeit of dried Morello cherries, to yearn for a speedy attack of gout to ward off the worst consequences of dissipation.

Of the late 18th century registers published some years ago in *Bengal Past and Present* I cannot now speak, for to deal with such records it is necessary that the study of them should be quite fresh in the memory. I will however invite your attention to the 1773-1754 registers which are at present appearing in our magazine. These early registers have suggested to me some ideas as to social life in old Calcutta which I will now attempt to summarise.

1. It is clear that almost from the date of Charnock's midday halt Calcutta was on its way to become a considerable port for European ships. It is only in comparatively recent years that our ships have come to be manned by lascar crews, and there are those with us who can remember the occasion when Father Hopkins marched two hundred British sailors in torch light procession at Xmas to a midnight Celebration of the sacred Mysteries at St. James' Church. In the far off days the brave East India men sailing ships arrived at Calcutta at the dry season and remained in port till the dangers of the monsoon were past. The captains, at least, had houses provided for them in the town, and they had merchandise of their own to sell or to buy. In addition to the Company's Captains, there were the Country Captains—the privileged mariners who traded from one Indian port to another. That the captains and master mariners brought wives and daughters with them to the East is clear from the records. The Directors of the Company seem to have been generous in providing free passages for wives and daughters, and specially when members of the Bengal pilot service were concerned.

2. If we set aside the marriages between Britishers and ladies with Portuguese names and the marriages of common soldiers and sailors, we find that a very large number of brides and bridegrooms married at least twice. Let us glance for a few minutes at the register as printed in the last issue of *Bengal Past and Present*. On page 211

nine marriages are given: two of these may be set aside as the brides have Portuguese names. Of six brides four are certainly widows and one other appears to have been a widow. Of these widows, Mary Gratton is to marry again four times—she had married first of all a French adventurer, she then married a Bengal pilot, then a Major in the Company's Artillery, then a Captain, and lastly a Civilian. Two other of seven brides marry again but apparently once only. There thus are least fourteen husbands for the six brides. Two of these husbands marry again. Of the nineteen entries on the following page we may omit 9 as presumably country marriages. Of the ten remaining brides on this page four certainly are widows. One of these widows marries twice again. There are only nine men to set against these ten brides, for the name John Eyre appears twice on the same printed page; three of the nine men married twice. There are thus fourteen different men for the ten brides, and nine men have twelve wives. Turn now at chance to page 221: here there are fifteen marriages and of the brides six are only spinsters, and three of twelve country women. Captain Thelwell whose name appears on this page was married four times. Take again page 225. Making the usual exceptions, we may say that of nineteen marriages left from the 23 perhaps five only of the brides are spinsters. Of these widow brides is a lady who married six times and each time a Captain. On this page occurs the name of Mr. William Barwell, future Governor and father of a famous son. William Barwell married three times, and not, as has been stated, but twice.

Turning to another page I notice that Mr. James Meredith who married in 1728, married in December, 1746, Mrs. Louisa Maria Orme who had married about seven months before a Mr. Searle. In 1742 Mr. Meredith became the sixth husband of Mrs. Mary Shepherd. Consider well the maturity of a matrimonial experience shared by a man who had married three wives two of whom were widows and a woman who had married three husbands one of whom at least was a widower. It has been observed that in the case of Henry the Eighth marriage tended to degenerate into a habit!

The celebrated Begum Watts and three of her four "Intermarriages" appear in these published records.

It is a misfortune that these old marriage registers do not give the age of the parties, nor the burial registers the ages of the deceased. Of course in cases in which inscriptions on tombstones still exist the details can occasionally be supplied. Those who are familiar with Sir William Hunter's charming but exceedingly inaccurate volume *The Thackerays in India*, will remember the pathetic account he gives of the Bechers, husband and wife. The marriage registers show that Mrs. Becher was a Miss Charlotte Golightly, and that the marriage took place on November 30, 1752. The inscription on the steps of the Charnock Mausoleum records that:—

"She died on the 14th day of October in the year of our Lord 1759, in the twenty first year of her age; after suffering with patience a long illness occasioned by the grief for the death of an only daughter who departed this life at Fulta, the 30th day of November 1755."

It is clear that Miss Charlotte Golightly was fourteen years old at the time of her marriage and only eighteen when Calcutta was captured by Siraj-uddaula, and

when her first child died in the miserable refugee camp on the 4th anniversary of her parents' marriage day. I find in the Baptismal Register that Charlotte daughter of Richard Becher Esq., and Charlotte his wife was baptised on July 1, 1754 when the child's mother would have been barely 16 years old.

Coming now to the Baptismal Registers, it might on first consideration seem obvious that a comparison between these registers and the burial registers would give us some important evidence as to child life in Calcutta of that period. On second consideration this expectation will scarcely be maintained, for the Baptismal Register is probably incomplete, and we have to take into account the children of parents transferred to the Bengal Mofussil or to Madras, and again there is the possibility that a considerable number of Baptisms were solemnised by local Roman Catholic clergymen and so not recorded in our sole extant records for the period prior to the seize of Calcutta. I must, however, guard myself from saying more as to the registers of Baptisms, for I have not as yet been able to give the whole matter a sufficient study.

The Burial Registers of 1713-1756 I am afraid would be more than we can undertake to publish *in extenso* in *Bengal Past and Present*. I propose to omit the names of private soldiers, sailors, etc.—in fact to publish so much of the burial register as will illustrate the other two registers. This may seem to you to be rather unsatisfactory, but I want to go further and point out that the publication of the 18th century registers in *Bengal Past and Present* can be nothing more than a useful beginning. A study of old Calcutta wills at the India Records Office is required to enable the identity of the persons whose names are given in the registers to be more surely ascertained. The Consultations of the Council at Fort William and the Councils of the subordinate factories or civil Stations would supply notices of marriages and deaths which are not to be found in the registers. At some future time the Society should undertake the publications of the registers as a separate undertaking. The work of editing them would have to be done in England, as the materials for a complete enquiry are not to be had in this country.

One of the most prominent members of the Society has been most anxious that the Society should produce a large illustrated history of Calcutta from the earliest beginnings to the present day. My objection to this proposal has always been that not enough is yet known of the history to justify such a publication. Writing of the late Dr. Charles Robert Wilson, Mr. William Irvine said of his friend "he evidently held, as many others do, that for the time being the available sources for the purely literary treatment of history have been exhausted. To secure any profitable extension of our knowledge, at any rate in the Indian field, we must devote ourselves to the consultation of original records. Like C.R. Wilson we must strive at sifting, arranging and publishing documents. It is the only way in which we can get a little nearer to the past and thus in the limited degree which is possible to learn the truth about it. In short, history must be dealt with as a science, a record of facts, before any attempt can be made to turn it into literature as a branch of *Belles Lettres*."

This is I think very true and needs recognition. It will be remembered that in the *Early Annals*, Dr. Wilson gave us summaries and extracts from the Bengal Public

Consultations, and to these records he prefixed some delightfully written introductions. It is to be regretted that Dr. Wilson gave us the Consultations rather than the General Letters between Bengal and the Court and the Court and Bengal. It may perhaps be unknown to you that at the time of Dr. Wilson's death, a third and a small part of a fourth, volumes of the *Annals* were in print, but lacking the introductions and indices. Looking through these printed sheets in order to form some rough conjecture of the amount and the kind of work that would be required to provide the missing introduction, I saw that the introduction would have in the main to be based on the correspondence of the Court. While I was last in England I purchased from Dr. Wilson's sister the manuscript materials the Doctor had collected for his later volumes, but to make use of them at all would require many months of daily labour at the Record Department of the India Office, and it is my belief that the records which it would be necessary to consult for this purpose should have been printed before vast amount of not necessarily important commercial details with which the Consultations are so well stocked was put into print.

May I say a word about the volume of Wilson's *Annals*, which, lacking only the introduction and the index, is, as a matter of fact, in print? I do not doubt that the printed sheets are stored in some Government offices or godowns. Dr. Wilson's Executors have, I believe, relinquished all interest in the matter, and commercially the book is of no value. In fact our friend must, unless he received some pecuniary reward from the Government, have been a heavy loser financially by his historical enthusiasm. It may be suggested that the Society might well ask Government to hand over to it the printed pages, and that the Society should supply the index and issue the work to its subscribers. The publications of the Bengal Letters and the Court's General Letters would be an effort far beyond the Society's competency, but a not unimportant duty is discharged when the existence of a need is clearly indicated.

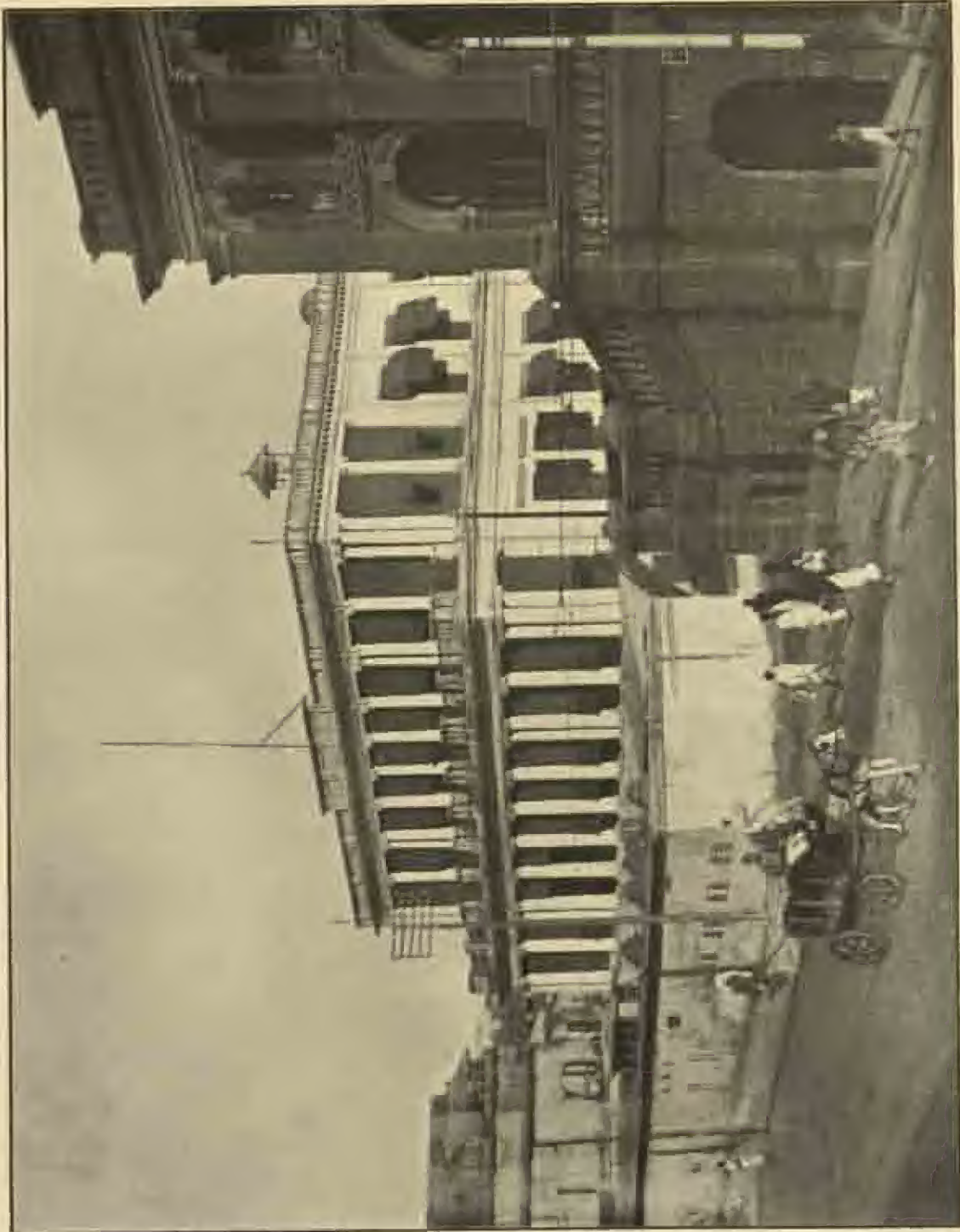
The Society has recently has offer made to it of the printed sheets of Law's *Memoir on the Affairs of Bengal 1756-1761* in French. For the printing of the *Memoir* the late Mr. Hari Nath De was responsible. The matter is occupying the attention of a small Committee appointed by your Council. An enterprising Calcutta publisher has asked to be informed if the Society would take under its care a reprint of the famous Fifth Report of 1813. I am told that as much as Rs. 160 is sometimes paid for a copy of Messrs. Higginbotham's Reprint, and that the original edition is even more costly. The most important thing in the Report, so far Bengal is concerned, is the collection of minutes by Sir John Shore on the revenue administration, although for some strange reason one highly important minute by this writer, given in Harington's *Analysis*, is omitted in the Report. Grant's *View of the Finances of Bengal* appears in the Report, and the *View* is quite a rich quarry for the student to draw from. Grant's theories are of doubtful value, and his style is painfully obscure, especially when the writer is pleased to attempt satire. I have often wondered whether it would be possible to rescue Grant's really valuable materials from the hopeless mass of obfuscation, in which they imbedded. The proposal to reprint the 5th Report, however, is not at present before the Society.

I have ventured to say that some good can be done by drawing attention to a clear need, although it may not be in our power to supply that need from our own resources. May I, therefore, venture to call attention to that great and crying need—the publication of the Buchanan-Hamilton Manuscripts? Thankful as one may be for the mutilation of Buchanan-Hamilton's work on which Montgomery Martin so impudently set his name, it is impossible to overstate the case for the publication of the entire survey and the Journals of the author. The publication of the work should precede any attempt to excavate sites of lost towns or temples in Bengal, and certainly Buchanan-Hamilton's pages should be in the hands of anyone who attempts an archeological or historical Gazetteer of Bengal. The original work of Buchanan's survey (the name Hamilton was assumed by him in after years) was one most costly to the Company, and the full value of it has never been realised. Buchanan proved himself just the right man to conduct the task entrusted to him, and those privileged persons who have some familiarity with the MSS. at the India Office will bear ready and weighty testimony to the importance of rescuing these simply invaluable papers from their present obscurity.

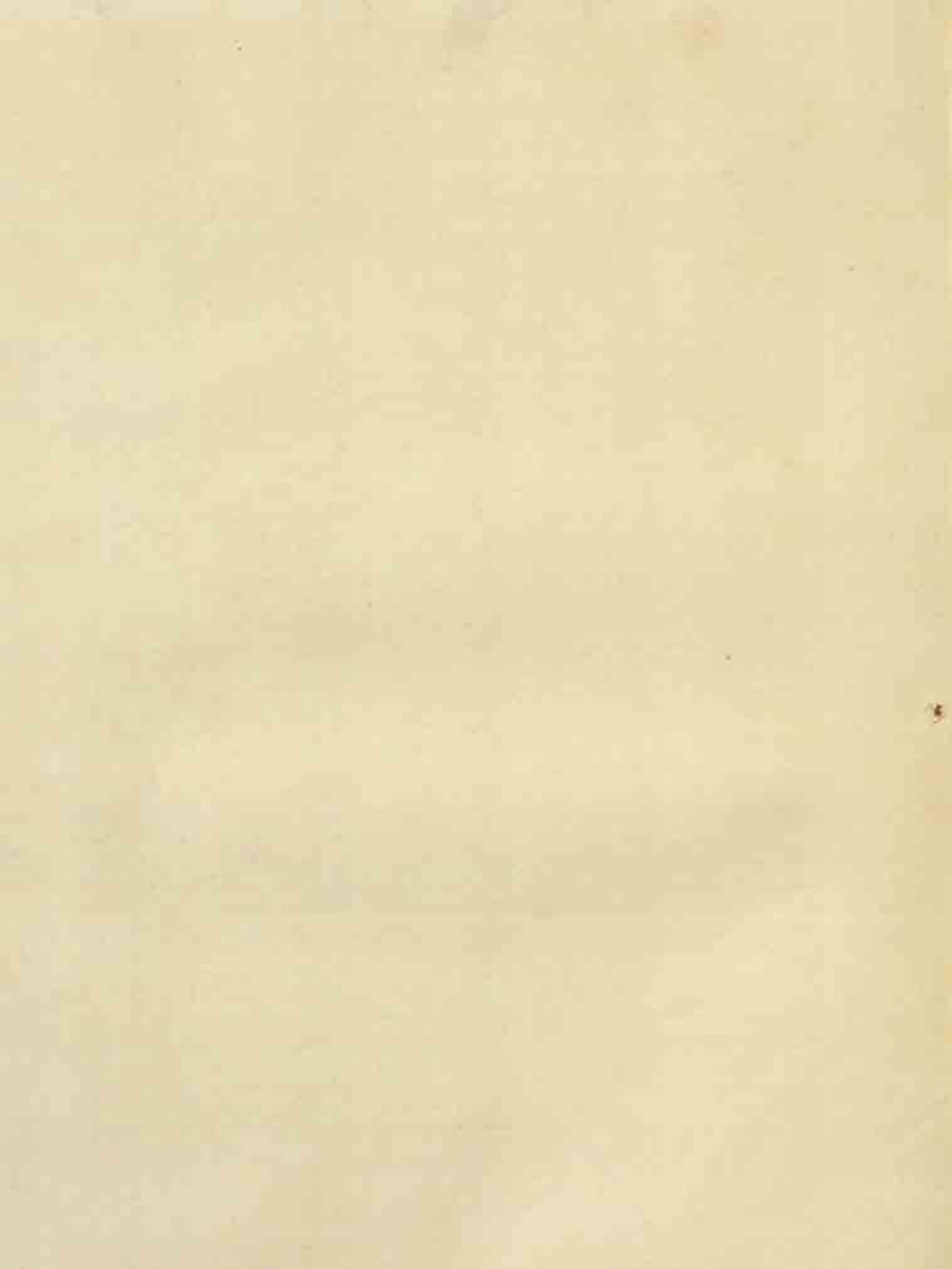
The Society has on sundry occasions called the attention of Government to monuments of historical interest which need to be brought under the operations of Lord Curzon's useful Act. The grave of the late Dr. Henry Blochman in the Lower Circular Road Cemetery is one which all who cares for Bengal studies would wish to see reverently cared for. I have noticed with pleasure that the graves of the Burmese exile ladies at Berhampore have been placed under the Act, and am still more glad that the historic Khatra mosque of Murshid Kuli Khan has come under the same protection! I wish our Society could manage to make excursions to Gour and Pandua to see all the good things Lord Curzon's zeal has effected for those wonderful places. Would that Lord Curzon had come in time to save the monuments of Dacca and Rajmehal from destruction. At the latter place the misdoings of an errant river have no doubt been answerable for much of the havoc that has been done, but alike at Dacca and Rajmehal there has been wilful Vandalism. The Vandals indeed have been unjustly made a by-word.

In Calcutta we have recently lost some old landmarks of antiquarian or perhaps sentimental interest. Gone is the house in Lall Bazar where John Palmer offered princely hospitality to his fellow citizens. A picture of that house and, if I remember aright, a portrait of John Palmer himself, were shown to me at the house of the Mercers' Company in London by the Master, the Rev. R. Stuart Palmer. Gone is the old house, once known as Selby's, in Mission Row, where the Magnates of the Company ruined one another at gambling tables humorously supposed to be friendly. Gone are the Old Assembly Rooms which Lord Cornwallis filled with so much lustre. Threatened, but yet still with us, is St. Andrew's Kirk—standing on the site of that old Anglican Charity School in a room of which Impey and two of his brethren of the Supreme Court, perspiring beneath the weight of fax and ermine, condemned Nanda Kumar to the gallows. Perhaps, when the Improvement Trust has got

* A biographical article on Buchanan-Hamilton will appear in the next number of *Bengal Past and Present*.



JOHN PALMER'S HOUSE IN LALL BAZAR. RECENTLY DEMOLISHED.
(Photo by B. A. Westbrook Esq.)



to work, the next oldest building in Calcutta to the Charnock Mausoleum, will be introduced to the due attention it deserves, and the white dome of the Armenian Church will form a conspicuous ornament in a clear and ample thoroughfare.

A study of Mr. R. C. Sterndale's *Historical Account of the Calcutta Collectorate* long ago convinced me that the Registers of deeds of Fort William from the years 1780 to 1854, would, if submitted to a rigorous examination, yield a rich harvest of materials for the history of our City. My friend, the Hon'ble Rai P. N. Mookerjee, Bahadur, has been so good as to permit me to examine one of the volumes and to peruse a report he has had drawn up on the Registers as a whole. The Registers are now in a very bad condition, and it is high time that their contents should be made available for research. From the Registers it appears that the average rate for which land adjoining principal thoroughfares sold during the period 1701 to 1810 was Rs. 80/- per cottah; less favoured sites would go for Rs. 30/- per cottah, while suburban sites would sell for Rs. 100/- per bigha. These Registers abound in important evidence as to alignment and names of roads and streets. I may mention the fact that the official identification of a certain house in Mission Row with the residence of Colonel Monson has of late been causing some of us grave doubts. The site of the Colonel's house is referred to in the Registers, but, at present nothing can be decided until we have discovered what is meant by the name "Humabe Bazar."

In 1885 Mr. Sterndale admitted that there could be found in his office "copies of the original pottahs granted by the collectors from 1757 downwards." It need hardly be said that a collection of documents of this kind would afford a harvest of most valuable evidence. Should space permit, I propose to reprint Mr. Sterndale's book in successive issues of *Bengal Past and Present*. The publication of Richard Barwell's Letters, however, is causing very considerable pressure on space available. The Barwell Letters increase in interest when we come to the time when Barwell, relieved from his feud with Lord Clive's imported favourites from the Madras Presidency, supports Hastings against the Francis faction, not because he was heart and soul in favour of Hastings' policy, but because he was wide awake to the fact that, ill judged as he privately but candidly, admits Hastings' deeds often were, nothing could in his opinion have been more disastrous to India, than the success of Hastings' opponents at the Council Board.

The following resolutions were then duly moved and seconded:—

1. Adoption of the annual report and accounts as circulated to the members.

2. Election of the following members as constituting the Council of the Society for 1915 with power to add to their number:—

President—His Excellency the Governor of Bengal

Vice-Presidents—His Honour Sir Charles Bayley, K.C.S.I., Sir Harry Stephen, Kt., Sir Robert Polton, Kt., LL.D., the Hon'ble Mr Justice Herbert Holmwood, LL.D., LL-Col W. J. Buchanan, C.I.E., M.A., LL.D.

Members—(1) The Hon'ble Maharaja-Dhira of Bardwan, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., (2) Maharaja Sir Prodyot Kumar Tagore, Kt., (3) Sir Rajendra Nath Mookerjee, K.C.I.E., (4) the Hon'ble

Mr. J. G. Cumming, C.S.I., C.I.E., (5) the Venerable Archdeacon of Calcutta, W. K. Firminger, M.A., B.D., (6) Mr. F. H. Stewart, C.I.E., (7) Mr. Justice A. Chowdhuri, M.A., (8) Sir L. G. Dunbar, Bt., (9) the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Herbert Holmwood, I.C.S., (10) Lt.-Col. W. J. Buchanan, C.I.E., I.M.S., M.B., (11) Mr. C. H. Kesteven, (12) Rai Preonath Mookerjee Bahadur, (13) Mr. W. W. Hornell, (14) Mr. R. D. Mehta, C.I.E., (15) Messrs. G. B. McNair, (16) F. C. Scallan, (17) J. A. L. Swan, I.C.S., (18) A. G. Macpherson, (19) H. G. Graves, (20) W. H. Phelps, (21) E. W. S. Russel, (22) G. P. Shollan, (23) H. A. Stark, M.A., (24) C. J. A. Pritchard, (25) J. B. Crichton, (26) W. C. Beaumont, (27) Dr. W. W. Kennedy, (28) Khan Bahadur Dewan Fazl Rubee, (29) Messrs. C. F. Hooper, (30) W. R. Gourlay, I.C.S., (31) J. C. Mitchell, (32) the Rev. Father H. Hosten, S.J.

3. Election of the following members as constituting the Executive Committee of the Society for 1915 with power to add to their number :—

(1) The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Herbert Holmwood, I.C.S., (2) Lt.-Col. W. J. Buchanan, C.I.E., I.M.S., M.B., (3) Rai Preonath Mookerjee Bahadur, (4) Mr. R. D. Mehta, C.I.E., (5) Mr. W. H. Phelps, (6) The Hon'ble Mr. Justice A. Chowdhuri, M.A., (7) the Venerable Archdeacon W. K. Firminger, (8) Messrs. H. G. Graves, (9) J. A. L. Swan, I.C.S., (10) C. F. Hooper, (11) E. W. S. Russel, (12) Khan Bahadur Dewan Fazl Rubbee, (13) Mr. A. G. Macpherson, (14) Hony. Secretary, (15) Hony. Treasurer.

4. Reappointment of Sir Rajendranath Mookerjee, K.C.I.E. and Mr. S. C. Sanial respectively to be Honorary Treasurer and Honorary Secretary of the Society for 1915.

On the motion of His Excellency a vote of thanks was accorded to the retiring President, the Venerable Archdeacon, W. K. Firminger.

In moving a vote of thanks to His Excellency for presiding, the Hon. Mr. Justice Holmwood said that it was the first time the chair of the Society had been honoured by being occupied by the Governor of Bengal. They hoped that His Excellency's well-known interest in matters connected with history and archaeology would be an earnest of greater efforts on the part of the Society. As one of His Excellency's newly-elected lieutenants, it was a great pride to him to labour under His Excellency on the executive committee of the Society. They felt certain that he would direct their steps into interesting avenues of research and would encourage them to greater efforts (applause).

The motion was seconded by the retiring President and carried unanimously.

His Excellency thanked the members in a few words.

Calcutta Historical Society.

ANNUAL REPORT

For the year ending 31st December 1914.

THE operations of the Calcutta Historical Society were in abeyance during 1911-1913, and the circumstances in which these were resumed in the beginning of 1914 were fully reported in pages 142—149 of Vol. VIII of "Bengal Past & Present."

Membership.—On the question of reviving the Calcutta Historical Society being decided in the affirmative in January 1914, a circular letter was sent by the Honorary Secretary to all the old members, and in response, most of them signified their intention of joining the revived Society. The roll of membership now contains 265 names, including subscribers of "Bengal Past & Present." This also includes 19 Life-members of whom two are additions of this year. A complete list of Members is appended with this Report.

Office-bearers.—At the last general meeting held on the 6th March 1914, the Hon'ble Sir Lawrence Jenkins, Kt., K.C.I.E., Chief Justice of Bengal, resigned the Presidentship of the Society and, on his proposal, the Venerable Archdeacon of Calcutta, W. K. Firminger, M.A., B.D. was elected President of the Society for 1914. In September last the Hon'ble Sir Harry Stephen, Vice-President of the Society, resigned his office for his retirement from India, and his place in the Executive Committee was filled up by Khan Bahadur Dewan Fazl Rubbee of Moorshidabad. Mr. C. F. Hooper was also elected an additional member of the Executive Committee. In November last Mr. J. C. Mitchell, Honorary Treasurer, left Calcutta on military service, and his duties were carried on by the Honorary Secretary.

Bengal Past & Present.—Nos. 15, 16 and 17 of the Society's Journal were published during the year under the editorship of the Venerable Archdeacon of Calcutta, W. K. Firminger, M.A., B.D., and No. 18 is almost ready for publication. Mr. S. C. Sanial, M.A., acted as Assistant Editor. Arrangements have been made to issue a consolidated Index of volumes one to eight. This consolidated Index is now in the press and will be of the greatest value. Excepting the Journal the Society did not issue any other publications during the past year. A statement is appended at the end

of this report showing the present stock of the Society's journal and other publications. It will be seen that five of the back numbers of the journal are out of print, and that a single complete set of them is not available. To avoid a repetition of this contingency in the future, about 200 copies of each of the numbers of the journal published during the year have been held in stock to meet future demands.

Excursions.—No excursions have taken place during the year, but it is expected that these will be soon resumed under favourable circumstances.

Finance.—A statement showing the actual receipts and expenditure is appended with this Report. It shows a satisfactory credit balance of Rs. 861—3—1 at hand. To this should be added Rs. 432 being subscriptions of 1914 due from the Governments of Bengal and Bihar and Orissa for 13 and 12 copies respectively of "Bengal Past & Present"* and the outstanding subscriptions of 1914 from 38 Members. At the end of the year the Society had no liability to meet.

The Society's Library.—This is now under the charge of the Honorary Secretary and is located at his residence at 26 Shampukur Street. On the application of the Honorary Secretary, the Government of India has very kindly presented the Society with five back volumes of the Reports of the Archeological Survey of India (Imperial Series) and the Government of Bombay has sent the first two volumes of their valuable Press-List of Ancient Records of the Seventeenth Century. As the Library has not yet got complete sets of Imperial and Provincial Archeological Survey Reports, an attempt is being made by the Honorary Secretary to obtain them by applying to the Imperial and Local Governments. A catalogue of all the books now in the library with the additions of 1914 is appended (*in the press*) with this Report.

* Since received.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

INDIAN.

1. Apcar the Hon'ble Mr. J. G., BAR-AT-LAW, 44 Chowringhee Road, Calcutta.
2. Bacon, E. G., Alexandra Court.
3. Baker, J. W., 13 Camac Street, Calcutta.
4. Bayley, His Honour, Sir Charles, Government House, Bankipur.
5. Beaumont, W. C., c/o. The "Statesman," 6 Chowringhee, Calcutta.
6. Bengal Club, Chowringhee, Calcutta.
7. Bengal General Department, Bengal Secretariat, Calcutta.
8. Bengal Legislative Council Library, Bengal Secretariat, Calcutta.
9. Bengal Public Works Department, Bengal Secretariat, Calcutta.
10. Berthoud, E., 48 Chowringhee Road, Calcutta.
11. Bihar and Orissa Revenue Department, Ranchi.
12. Bingley, Colonel A. H., C.I.E., General Staff, Army Head Quarters, Simla.
13. Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, Town Hall, Bombay.
14. Bosu, S. C., Burdwan.
15. Bradley-Birt, F. B., I.C.S., Barisal.
16. Broom, J. Thompson, c/o. Messrs Finlay & Co., Colombo.
17. Brown, A. A., 41 Chowringhee, Calcutta.
18. Buchanan, the Hon'ble Lt.-Col. W. J., C.I.E., Bengal Secretariat, Calcutta.
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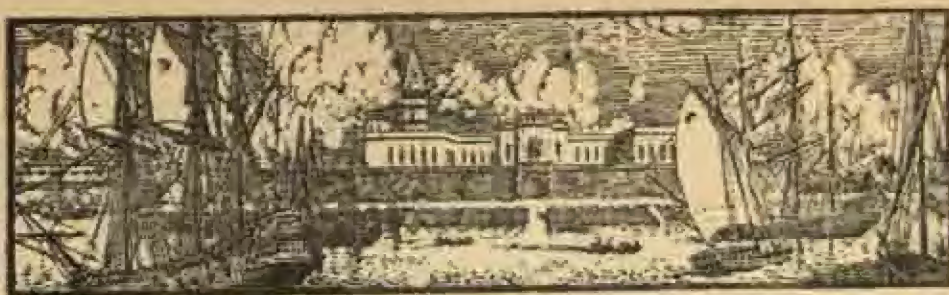
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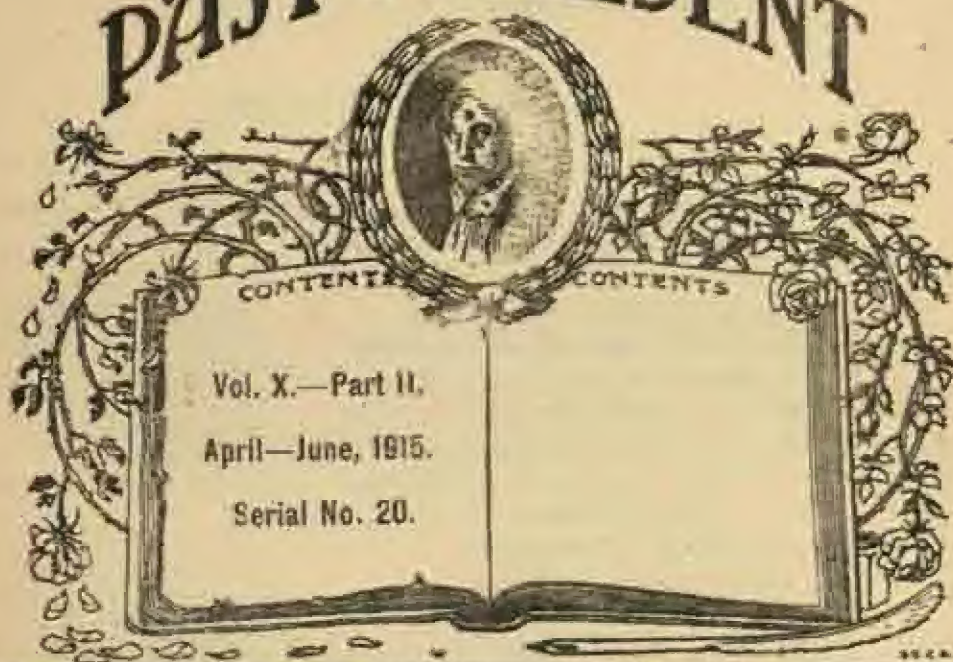
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BENGAL PAST & PRESENT



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Corrigendum—Page 187, in line 4 from top for 26 May read 20 May.



Major James Rennell, F.R.S.,

'The first great English Geographer'.



James Rennell

Reproduced from a Medallion
in the possession of the Asiatic
Society of Bengal.

Some Notes on Burial Grounds.

I. ARRAH.

IN the course of a recent official tour, my attention was called at Arrah to the existence of two closed burial grounds which have escaped the knowledge of the Archdeacon. These are situated each at the end of a tank, close to which in years long past stood the Collector's *kacheri*. Both of these burial grounds are completely walled in, and I had therefore to make use of a ladder to gain admission. In the first, I found six graves with monuments bearing inscriptions.

WILLIAM COWELL, died July 13, 1803 aged 10 months 12 days.

AUGUSTA COWELL, died 1814.

HENRIETTA RATTRAY, died 1807.

CHARLOTTE MURDOCK, died 1810.

EMANUEL DOSSEMEDICS, of Bombay, died Oct. 4, 1807. Aged 53 years.

MATHIAS PETER DESSA, died 1819, aged 35 years 3 months 11 days.

There are also two nameless graves.

In the second burial ground I copied the following inscriptions.

[1]

Sacred
to the Memory
of

CLARA SCOTT WARING

who departed this life

July 24 A. D. 1813.

Aged one year and four months.

[2]

Sacred

to the Memory of

JOHN LEWIS CHAUVETT Esq.,

Judge and Magistrate

of the District of Shawabad.

Deceased the 15th August 1794

Aged 54 years.

This Stone
is erected by the desire of his several friends in
Testimony of their Regard, and as a Mark of their
Respect

for his honorable Integrity
and truly Estimable qualities

Several interesting notices of the Scott Waring family will be found in
Sydney C. Grier's *Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife*.

II. CHAPRA.

The sun was setting when I visited the picturesque Dutch Cemetery at Chapra. The beautiful view seen across the tank made me regret the impossibility of taking a photograph. The most prominent object is a tomb which represents a fair sized mosque with miniature minarets. Above the entrance is a stone inscribed

I V H

Obiit 26 Junié

anno 1712.

Beside the old Dutch mosque-shaped monument there are several other gigantic Dutch tombs—in ruins and unnamed. The oldest English tombs seem to have been erected on the site of Dutch ones. Here are a few inscriptions :

[1]

In Memory of
THOS. BOYLE BOLTON,
Infant Son of Major Bolton,*
who died Aug. 25. 1786.
Aged 10 Months.

[2]

In Memory
of
EUGENIE DOERING
of the
Chapra Mission
Aged 25.

Died August 2nd 1866.

Rev. 14th Chapt. 18th Verse.

Close by is a monument inscribed

In Memory
of

* See *Bengal Past & Present*, Vol. VII. p. 169.

John Donovan, May 6, 1859.
 John Colston, July 8.
 Alfred Abrey, July 16.
 John Baker, Aug. 24.
 John Tomlin, Oct. 24.
 Seamen of the 15th Indian
 Naval Brigade, who died while
 Stationed at Chapra, A. D. 1859.

Another Monument.—

[*On Face*]

Sacred to the Memory
 of

William Brown.
 John Johnson.
 William Brown.
 George Jessop.
 James Johnson.
 Joseph Greenway.
 William Lippingott.
 Pet. Fitzgerald.

Late of the Naval Brigade
 who departed
 this life

In Chapra in the year 1859.

(*On one side*).

Sacred to the Memory
 of

Willm. Bromley.
 John Philips.
 James Wilson.
 Thos. Ranson.
 James Hughes.

[3]

Here lies

MILICENT

The infant Daughter of
 Charles and Elizabeth

GRAEME.*

Died 1777.

* *Bengal Past & Present* Vol. IV. p. 500.

[4]

ALICE JANE, and Daughter of
 Alex. Caruthers and Wife
 of Wm. Maxwell Dixon,
 I. C. S. 17 March, 1846.
 Aged 23 and 4 Months.

Maria Jane only child
 of Wm. Maxwell, died at
 Berhampur Aug. 4. 1846

III. PURNIAH.

There are at least three European cemeteries at Purneah, but I only had time to visit the one in present use; and but hasten through one of the two closed ones. From the former I gathered the following:—

Here lies the
 Remains of
 MR. HENRY ACKLAND
 Aged 57 Years.

This monument is erected to his Memory by the
 Managers of the Orphan Society. In testi-
 mony to the year and integrity with which he ser-
 ved that Institution upward of eight years
 in the capacity of Secretary.

None of the above inscriptions are given in the *Bengal Obituary*. My notes were made somewhat hastily, but I trust they are correct.

IV. MIDNAPUR.

I paid a brief official visit to Midnapur on Saturday March 27, staying there till Monday the 29th. I was delighted with the fine old house occupied by the Judge in which I was most hospitably entertained by Mr. Delevinge I. C. S. The house most probably has a history attaching to it which would be worth searching for. In the compound there is a monument bearing the following inscription.

Sacred
 To the memory of
 JOHN PEIARCE ESQUIRE,
 Who having Served the
 East India Company

with honor & fidelity for twenty-three years,
 during the last twelve of which he was
 Collector at Midnapore
 departed this life on the 26th May 1788,
 in the 49th year of his age
 Truly lamented as a valuable friend,
 affectionate brother,
 and parent to the indigent.

Composed in suffering, in Joy sedate,
 Good without noise, by faith supremely great,
 Just of thy word, in every thought sincere,
 Who knew no wish but what the world might hear,
 Of softest manners, unaffected mind,
 Lover of peace, & friend of human kind:
 Go live! for Heaven's eternal year is thine!
 Go, and exalt thy mortal to divine.

Pope.

J. Palmer. Scit.

On the back of the monument there is an inscription in Bengali.
 The Churchyard of St. John's, Midnapur, is the burial ground at present
 in use. Unfortunately I here had no time to copy inscriptions, but I copied
 the following from a tablet on the south wall of the Church

Sacred to the Memory of
 THE REV. FREDERICK FRASER M.A.
 Chaplain on the Bengal Establishment,
 SUSANNA ANNA, HIS WIFE.
 and PHILIP, their youngest Son,
 who perished by the hands of
 the Rebels of Singhee Rampore,
 July, 1857.

There is, I was told, an old burial ground situated in the heart of the
 bazar, but this I had not time to visit. The most important of the closed
 cemeteries is the one picturesquely situated beneath the wall of the ancient
 Maratha [?] fort. I had not time to copy all the inscriptions, and indeed
 many of the tombs, although otherwise in good order, have lost their inscribed
 stones. The following were made in haste, but I trust are fairly correctly
 transcribed.

[1.] Here lieth / the body of JOHN INGLIS, / Lieut. in the 15th
 Bengal Natl. Infy., / Eldest Son of John Bellingham Inglis Esqre. / and of
 Mary Helen, his wife / Grandson of the late John Inglis Esqre. / A Director
 of the Hon'ble E. I. Company. / His afflicted parents have caused this

stone / to be erected to his Memory. / Born in London on the 8th Day of Feby. 1817. / Died at Kuckra on / the 16th Day of Dec. 1841.

[2.] Sacred / to the Memory / of / THOMAS GALTON, / who departed this life / on the 20th July / 1796 / aged 45 years.

[3.] Here lies interred / the body of / ROSS MOORE ESQUIRE, / Surgeon in the Service of / the Honorable / the East India Company. / Born August the 3rd, 1765, / Died December the 6th, 1806. / This Monument is erected / by his Widow / as a mark of the / Affection and Respect / which she bears to his memory.

*[4.] Sacred to the Memory of / JOSEPH FEGREDO, / Late Clerk of Zillah Midnapur, who departed this life / 31 March 1803, / aged 40 years 2 months and 6 days. / This tribute of affection for a Revered Husband and tender parent / was erected by his disconsolate widow / Natalia Fegredo.

[5.] Sacred / to the Memory / of / CAPTAIN JOHN HICKLAND / 1st Battalion 5th N. Regiment, / a Native of Denmark, / who departed this life the 14th August 1806, / aged 49 years. / An honest worthy man.

[6.] MRS. FRANCOISE BOULAROT HICKLAND. / Born at Marsillac in Rovergue 1760. / Died the 4th April 1803. / Her Husband has erected this Monument / a mark of Affection / and Respect / to her / memory.

[7.] Sacred / to the Memory of / LIEUT. COL. CHARLES JACKSON DOVETON, / who died at Midnapore / on the 1st October 1832. / Aged 48 years. / This Tomb is erected in commemoration / of his inestimable worth as a Christian and Soldier, / and as a mark of the paternal regard / of Sir John Arnold K. C. B., / and the filial affection of the officers / of the 38th Regt. N. I.

[8.] This Tomb / is erected by Lieut. Colonel Doveton / and the officers of the 38th Regt. N. I. / as a melancholy proof of esteem and is / Sacred to the memory / of / SURGEON JAMES MACRA died 27 March, 1832, / LIEUT. T. S. MESHAM, died 1st June, / Lieut. C. S. FULLARTON, died 1st June, / ENSN. F. S. MASINGFORD, died 28 May, / CADET J. D. PINDER, died 5th June, / all of the 38th Regt. / who were victims to the climate of / Baunurighattee.

[9.] Sacred to the Memory of / MRS. ELIZABETH SHOW, / who departed this life / on the 2nd of April 1796, / Aged 59 years. / a faithful and virtuous Wife, / an affectionate Mother, / and a sincere Friend. / This Monument was erected / by her afflicted Husband, / Geo. Show, / Deputy Commy. of Ordnance.

* This is one of the largest and perhaps the most costly monument in this Cemetery.

[10.] Sacred / to the Memory of / FRANCES CUMMING, / Wife of
Lieut. Robt. Cumming, / who departed this life / Sincerely regretted by her /
affectionate Husband, / 30th March 1791. / Æ 22.

[11.] To the Memory of / MR. JOHN ALEXANDER, / Assist.
Surgeon / on the Bengal Establishment, / who died the first of March, 1792 /
Aged XXVIII years.

[12.] Sacred / to the Memory of / MAJOR ANDREW FRASER, /
late of the 1st Battalion 25 Regiment N. I., / who departed this life / on the
12th of August, 1812. / This Monument is erected by the officers / of the
Corps, as a tribute of Respect to the / Character of the Deceased.

[13.] To the Memory of / the late / CAPTAIN JOHN BRADLEY, /
who died at Midnapore, / on the 7th of December, 1795, / Aged XXV years.

[14.] Sacred / to the Memory / of / JOHN HADLEY, / the infant son /
of / John Hadley & Mary D'OYLY,* / who departed this life / on the 1st June
1835 / Aged 1 year 5 months and 27 days / The Lord gave and the Lord
hath taken away, / Blessed be the name of the Lord.

[15.] Sacred to the Memory / of / ELIZABETH, / the infant daughter
of / John & Mary FENDALL, who departed this life on / the 20th June, 1766.

[16.] Sacred / to the Memory of / LIEUTENANT COLONEL /
RODERICK FRASER / who departed this life / 8th August. / Anno Domini,
1818.

[17.] Sacred / to / the Memory / of / JOHN KELLEY, / who departed
this life / 9th of September, 1803. / Aged 25 years, 8 Ms.

[18.] Sacred / to the Memory of / MARY JANE WARD, / the beloved
wife of / Joseph Novertor Revell, Esq., / Born the 5th Jany. 1807 / Died 1st
Nov. 1829 / aged 22 years 10 Months.

[19.] To the Memory of / WILLIAM SWAINSTON Esqr., / who
departed this life / in the station of Head Assistant / at Midnapore, / on the
13th of August, MDCCXC. / in the fiftieth year of his age, / after having
served / the Honorable Company / upwards of seventeen years. / This Monu-
ment is with respectful remembrance / erected by his Friend, C. Burrowes.

[20.] In Memory / of THOMAS A. CASPERSZ, / who departed this
life / at Midnapore / on the 5th September 1843. / Aged 23 years 2 months /
and 26 days.

WALTER K. FIRMINGER.

* See *Bengal Past & Present* Vol. IX. p. 71.

Francis Buchanan-Hamilton.

THE name of Dr. Francis Buchanan-Hamilton is well known to all interested in the records, or the history of economic developments of India, and proposals have recently been hinted at for the publication in a complete form of his great "Survey of Bengal" a work which is still in MSS. form in the Library of the India Office.* A note, therefore, by one who is further interested in Francis Buchanan by being a member of the same service and one of the same clan, may be interesting to readers of *Bengal Past and Present*.

Francis Buchanan (the name which he bore throughout his career in India) was born on the 15th. February 1762 at Branzit in the parish of Callender, Stirlingshire.

He came of the branch of the Clan Buchanan, known as the Buchanans of Spittal, and as he successfully established, on the 9th July 1829, his right to be Chief of the Clan Buchanan, it is of interest to trace his claims to be the lineal descendant of Walter Buchanan, first of Spittal, and as such the male representative of the family, Buchanan of Buchanan.

Walter Buchanan was the son of the 16th Laird of Buchanan, and in 1529 acquired the lands of Spittal in the county of Dumbarton, those of Arrochymore in 1530, and those of Blairvockie in 1535. He was succeeded as 2nd. Laird of Spittal by his son Edward, whose son Robert followed; and was followed by Walter (known as the 1st. Laird of Blairvockie), whose son Edward, the 3th. Buchanan of Spittal, died in 1669, and was succeeded by his grandson Edward, whose son John became the 7th. Laird of Spittal, and was followed by Robert, the 8th. Laird, who sold his lands at Spittal to his brother Peter. Peter took his share in the risings of the '45 and "was confined for many months in a loathsome dungeon in Stirling Castle;" on his release "quite broken" (in purse as well as health, we may assume) he too sold his Spittal property in 1753 to Colonel Thomas Buchanan, his brother, an officer in the Dutch Service. Colonel Thomas Buchanan was twice married, and both marriages were of importance to the subject of the present sketch. His first wife was a daughter of the Buchanans of Leny, and his second was Elizabeth, daughter and heiress, of John Hamilton of Bardowie.

Thomas and Elizabeth Buchanan had five sons and two daughters, of whom, Francis was the fourth son. The eldest son died early, the second son John, on his mother's death, succeeded to the estates of Bardowie and in accordance with the terms of the entail assumed the name of Hamilton;

* See above page 168.

on his father's death this Colonel John Buchanan-Hamilton obtained the paternal estates of Spittal and Leny. John having died without issue, and his other brothers being already dead, the heir would have been Captain Robert Hamilton-Buchanan, Captain in the 24th. Regiment of Native Infantry, but he too died, in India, leaving no legitimate descendants. The three estates, therefore, of Spittal, Leny and Bardowie came to Dr. Francis Buchanan, who also assumed the additional name of Hamilton, by which he has since been generally known, and as has been said, he established his claim to be chief of the Clan, as heir to his great-great-great-great-great-great-grandfather Walter Buchanan of Spittal.

Francis Buchanan received his early education in Glasgow, entering the University there at the then usual very early age. He took his M. A. degree there in 1779 at the age of 17 years.

He then went to Edinburgh to study medicine, and among his teachers were John Hope, Professor of Botany and a friend of Linnæus, Francis Home and Alexander Monro *secundus*. Among his fellow students and friends for life was J. E. (afterwards Sir J. E.) Smith, purchaser of Linnæus' herbarium and the founder of the Linnæan Society. As a student Buchanan was known as a keen collector. He took his M. D. degree at Edinburgh in 1783, in his 22nd year. We learn from Lt. Col. D. G. Crawford's *History of the Indian Medical Service* that Francis Buchanan made several voyages to the East as a Ship's Surgeon, then, as now, one of the best ways for a young medico to see the world.

His first voyage was in the ship *Duke of Montrose* to Bombay, which returned to England in 1787; he then made a second voyage to China and Bombay in 1788-89 in the same ship. In 1791-2 he visited the Coromandel Coast and Bengal, and in 1794 came to the East again, to Bengal in the ship *Rose*. These voyages appear to be the foundation for a family tradition that he entered the Royal Navy, and that he left it on account of his bad health. Bad health, at times, no doubt, he had, and he was much at home during the intervals between his four Eastern voyages.

In 1794, however, he entered the E. I. Company's Service as an Assistant Surgeon, and his name is seen at the end of a list of Assistant Surgeons of the Bengal Medical Establishment in the Civil Department "who have made their option for remaining in their present situations," at a time when the question of Civil vs. Military Employ was agitating the Medical Service and attracting the attention of Government. (Crawford's *History*, I. pp. 270.)

Francis Buchanan entered the Indian Medical Service on the 26th. September 1794, and soon after was attached to the embassy which was deputed under Captain Michael Symes to the Court of Ava. This embassy

suddenly and peremptorily refused his sanction and ordered the return of all the articles, an order which has been the occasion for considerable controversy and has been fully discussed in the *Calcutta Review* (July 1894), and by Sir David Prain in the *Sketch* already referred to.

On his return home Buchanan did not stay long in London, but soon went north to his own county, and early in 1816 on the death of his nephew Capt. Hamilton Buchanan in India, he succeeded to the Buchanan properties as his brother's heir and made his home at the Bardowie Mansion. Some years later in his 39th year (in 1821) he married Katherine Brooke and had two children, a daughter who died unmarried in 1836, and a son who ultimately succeeded to the family estates and died in 1903.¹ In 1826 Francis Buchanan was made a Deputy Lieutenant for the County of Perth and began the steps that made himself recognised as head of the house of Spittal, as already recorded.²

In his *Sketch* Sir David Prain has enumerated a long list of 62 publications by Francis Buchanan. These include numerous monographs and articles in various scientific periodicals; his great works are the *Survey of Mysore* (3 Vols. London 1807), *An Account of Nepal* (1 Vol. Edinburgh 1819), *The District of Dinajpur* (1 Vol. Calcutta 1833), *The Fishes of the Ganges* (Edinburgh 1822) and the great *Survey of Eastern India* which appeared in three volumes in 1838 under the name of Montgomerie Martin.

The whole of the Buchanan documents in Mss. at the India Office, were not published by Martin. The latter only used those in which he was personally interested and omitted much he was not capable of appreciating. Martin's work was also marred by the then fashionable lengthy title-page which, however, gave no clue to the authorship of the "original documents" he edited or rather extracted. Beveridge and Sir David Prain are content to acquit Martin of anything more serious than stupidity; he had at any rate very rudimentary ideas of his duties as an Editor.

Francis Hamilton ("once Buchanan" as Sir David Prain rather quaintly calls him) died at Leny on the 15th June 1829.

W. J. BUCHANAN.

¹ The present chief of the clan is Francis Buchanan's grandson, Mr. J. Hamilton-Buchanan of Spittal and Leny, who resides at Leny House, near Callender. (See *Scottish Country Life*; April 1913, p. 160.)

² Long before this on the 1st May 1806 Buchanan had been made a Fellow of the Royal Society, being the first officer of the L.M.S. to attain to that honour while still a member of the Service on the active list. (Crawford, *op. cit.* II, 216.)



ST. ANDREW'S PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH. CALCUTTA.

Early History of St. Andrew's Kirk, Calcutta.

THE Anglo-Indian Presbytery was created by the Charter of 1813 along with the Anglo-Indian Episcopate. Its early days in Calcutta were full of unpleasant controversies between the Government and the redoubtable minister who came to give effect to the wishes of the Home Authorities. The Honourable the Court of Directors in a Public General letter, dated the 12th November 1813, informed the Governor-General of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal as follows:—

"In order to show our desire to encourage by every prudent means in our power the extension of the principles of the Christian Religion in India, we have unanimously resolved that an addition be made to the present Clerical Establishment maintained by the Company at each of our Presidencies of Bengal, Madras and Bombay, of one minister of the Church of Scotland with the same salary as is granted to the Junior Chaplain at each of the Presidencies, and we direct that a suitable place of worship be provided or erected at each of our Principal Settlements of Bengal, Madras and Bombay for those Ministers of the Church of Scotland whom we may permit to proceed to India to act as Chaplains at either of those places."

This was followed by another letter, dated the 4th November 1814, intimating the appointment of the Revd. Dr. James Bryce as a chaplain on the Bengal Ecclesiastical establishment. Dr. J. Bryce reported his arrival in Calcutta on the 28th November 1814,* and asked for instructions to enable

* On the 11th April 1814 Dr. James Bryce was appointed by the Court of Directors to be the first minister of St. Andrew's Church in Calcutta. For this appointment he was recommended to the Court by the fact of his having gained the prize offered by Dr. Claudius Buchanan to the members of the University of Aberdeen for an essay on the best means of evangelising India. The Scotch Chaplain left England in the same ship which brought out the first Bishop of the Indian Episcopate. He arrived in Calcutta on the 28th November 1814 and at once became the editor and the managing proprietor of the weekly newspaper of Calcutta, the *Asiatic Mirror*. His fight with the Government Censor is an important episode of Indian journalism that eventually led to the abolition of the office of Censor by Lord Hastings in 1818. In 1819 his health broke down, and he left Calcutta on furlough for two years. The *Asiatic Mirror* was consequently abandoned and sold to the proprietors of the *Bengal Harkara*. In 1821 he returned to Calcutta and started "John Bull in the East" as a rival organ to Buckingham's *Calcutta Journal*, and the well-known periodical, *Oriental Magazine and Calcutta Review*. The new paper became "the supporter of Church and King, the contemner of private scandals, the counterpoise of the pernicious

him to enter upon his duties of Clergyman of the Church of Scotland at the Presidency. The Government thereupon, in its Resolution of the 6th December 1814, No. 29, nominated the gentlemen as noted below* to form a Committee for the purpose of suggesting to Government the measures they would recommend to be adopted to give effect to the intentions of the Honourable the Court of Directors in appointing a Minister of the Church of Scotland to perform Divine Service at the Presidency of Bengal, and requested them to assemble at such time and place as would be convenient to themselves to take the subject into their consideration and to report their sentiments for the information and orders of the Vice-President in Council.

The Committee forwarded its report, dated the 17th December 1814, in which they said:—"the Committee are proceeding to ascertain as nearly as possible the extent of congregation for whom it will be required to erect a Church—that in the opinion of the Committee, it will be expedient that, in the meantime, a temporary place of worship should be provided, and that the Hall of the College [of Fort William]† appears to them a place in every respect suited for this purpose. The Committee have learnt with much pleasure that the proposal of appropriating the Hall to this purpose meets the approbation of the College Council. Should it also be approved of by Government the Committee beg leave to suggest that Divine Service after the forms of the Church of Scotland should commence being performed there on Sunday, the 1st of January, 1815." This proposal was accepted by Government.

In a communication of the 28th January 1815, the Committee made suggestions for the selection of a site for the church, and in reply the Committee was asked to suggest to Government an arrangement for the performance of Divine Service until a suitable place could be provided for the purpose. The Revd. Dr. James Bryce was also informed of the above with reference to his representation about the inconvenience caused to the Presbyterian community by the absence of a suitable place of worship. Thereupon Dr. Bryce wrote at great length imputing to Government unnecessary delay in providing a church, and declining the performance of

influence of other journals." For several years this paper remained the mouth-piece of the Indian Civil Service and of the large Government party at Calcutta. In 1838 the Court of Directors having sent out peremptory orders calling upon their servants in India to cease all connection with the public Press, Dr. Bryce was compelled to part with his share in the "John Bull in the East" and the *Oriental Magazine*. Thus ended his journalistic career which is more remarkable than his holy profession. In 1823 he first attracted the attention of the Church of Scotland towards India as a promising field for spiritual warfare. This eventually gave rise to the India Mission of the Church of Scotland of which Dr. Alexander Duff was the first Missionary.

* Major Wood, Mr. A. Trotter, Revd. J. Bryce, Dr. J. McWhirter, and Mr. G. Mercer.

† Well-known in old Calcutta as Exchange and Assembly Rooms. See *Bengal Past & Present*, Vol. VIII, pp. 219-23.

Public Service until a proper building had been provided for the accommodation of the members of the Presbyterian Communion of, or until such a building was in actual progress. The Vice-President in Council, after explaining the cause of delay in commencing the construction of a Church, expressed a hope that Dr. Bryce on reflection would be induced to alter his resolution and consent to perform Divine Service in the best temporary place that could be procured for the accommodation of the Scottish congregation. The correspondence was also furnished to the Secretary to the Governor-General who communicated his remarks in the letter of the 30th May on Dr. Bryce's conduct in declining to perform Divine Service and stated that Dr. Bryce had misled himself by referring to his own arrangements with the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, and that the Honourable Court was no party to the agreement entered into by him and the General Assembly, and Dr. Bryce was requested by a formal order to hold service in the College Hall at the regular times, until further orders.

About the time when the above correspondence was taking place Dr. Bryce submitted, in connection with another matter, *vis.*, the question of the validity of marriages celebrated by the Scotch Chaplains, a copy of the Proceedings of a meeting of the Ministers and Elders of the Church of Scotland in the General Assembly, an extract therefrom is given below:—

Extract from the Proceedings of a meeting of the Ministers and Elders of the Church of Scotland in the General Assembly of the National Church held at Edinburgh the 13th May 1814.

"We the Ministers and Elders of the Church of Scotland met in the General Assembly of the National Church * * * enjoin the said three Chaplains and the Ministers of the Church of Scotland who may be permitted to proceed to India as their successors in performing Divine Service and administering the ordinances of Religion within the Churches provided for their several congregations to conform to the worship now practised in the Church of Scotland and empower and direct them without delay to select from their several congregations persons whom they judge qualified for the office of Eldership, and to admit them to that office in the manner prescribed by the Acts of Assembly with whom each of the said three Ministers at the Presidency where he acts as Chaplain may hold Session for the exercise of discipline in his congregation according to the rules of the Church and for the management of Ecclesiastical affairs of his congregation, recommend to the several Ministers and their Kirk Sessions to hold brotherly correspondence with one another according to circumstances, and as they may judge best for edification, declare that the several Ministers and their Kirk Sessions are subject to the Ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Presbytery of Edinburgh to whom they are directed to refer any difficulties which they may find themselves

unable to solve, or any dispute which may unfortunately arise amongst them, empower the three Chaplains and their Kirk Sessions to write in any manner that they may find expedient in sending one Minister and one Elder as their representatives to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, which representatives upon producing satisfactory documents of their election, we will admit to sit, vote and determine, with us from whom we may have the satisfaction of learning the prosperity of this distant branch of the Church of Scotland and through whom we may communicate such advice and directions as its circumstances may require.

This deliverance of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, subscribed by our Moderator and Clerk, we direct the principal Clerk of the Church to send to the Revd. J. Bryce * * * and an authentic copy of this Deliverance we appoint Mr. Bryce to transmit to each of the two Ministers acting as Chaplains at the two Presidencies of Madras and Bombay for their government and directions.

DAVID RITCHIE, *Moderator.*

ANDREW DUNCAN, *Cl. Eccl. Scot.*

In his letter of the 13th May 1815, Dr. Bryce in asking for leave home requested that if the Vice-President in Council saw proper to take any further measures regarding the erection of a church for the members of the Church of Scotland at Calcutta during his absence, that the members of the Kirk Session would have the honour of receiving the commands of Government on the subject. On the 30th May he submitted a memorial addressed to the Court of Directors on the subject of the delay in providing a church, but it was not transmitted. There was no reference in this memorial to the Kirk Session.

The Government in its letter, dated the 3rd November 1815, to the Committee intimated its intention of constructing a place of worship for the Members of the Church of Scotland at the Presidency of a size sufficient to contain 300 persons, and requested them to fix on such a site for the building as they considered best suited for the purpose and to invite plans for the Church with estimates of the expense and to submit them with their observations. It was also added that the Asiatic Society of Bengal were pleased to grant the use of the house appropriated for their meetings to Dr. Bryce as a temporary place of worship until a church should be constructed.

The Committee in due course reported their views in regard to a site and submitted a plan of a church to seat 300 persons and stated that on the most accurate estimate the expense would amount to about one lakh and a half of Rupees. They at the same time mentioned that "the Clergyman and members of the Kirk Session" were anxious that the foundation of the new

church should, if possible, be laid on St. Andrew's day, the 30th November 1815.

The Government in its letter of the 25th November 1815, intimated its decision to allot as a site for the church the plot of ground belonging to it,* east of Writers' Buildings, and requested the Committee to make the necessary communication to the "Kirk Session" in order that they might make the requisite arrangements for laying, agreeably to their application, the foundation stone of the Scottish Church on the 30th November 1815, the day of St. Andrew's. It was stated in this letter that the Governor-General in Council could not sanction in addition to the Rs. 30,000, the estimated value of the ground, of a larger grant than one of a lakh of Rupees, that although this sum might prove insufficient to complete a building according to the plan submitted by the Committee, yet the intention of the Honourable Court could be met by the sum in question, that should, however, the Kirk Session be anxious to prosecute the work according to the plan, it was suggested, in consequence of a private communication from Dr. Bryce, that the balance required might be raised by contribution from the members of the Church of Scotland, or on the credit of the revenues derived from the seat rents and other sources connected with the church. And that "in the event of the Kirk Session wishing to adopt the latter arrangement His Lordship in Council will immediately grant a credit to them of one lakh of Rupees on the General Treasury their agreeing to complete a building in conformity to the plan and to act as a Committee for carrying on the work. This donation, however, on the part of Government must be received by the Session on the express understanding, that Government is in no way to be answerable for any further charge on account of the church either now or hereafter." Dr. Bryce was requested to lay the above letter before the Kirk Session with all the correspondence between the Committee and the Government on the subject of the construction of the proposed church; and the Committee which was first formed was then dissolved.

Dr. Bryce acknowledged the letter on the 13th February 1816, and said that he had laid it before the Kirk Session of St. Andrews. He added in their name "that the members of the Session felt themselves highly honoured by the office to which Government had been pleased to appoint them and were ready to enter immediately on its discharge on the terms of the said letter of November 25th." He also requested on behalf of the members of the Session that the name of Mr. Charles Milner Ricketts, then Chief Secretary to Government might be added to the Committee. The

* *i.e.* the site of the old Court House.

Government approved of the proposal to add the name of Mr. Ricketts to the Committee for carrying on the building of St. Andrew's Church.

The Accountant-General was informed, in letter dated the 17th February 1816, that the Governor-General in Council had been pleased to subscribe on the part of the Honourable Company the sum of sicca Rupees one lakh in addition to Rs. 30,000 the estimated value of the ground for the purpose of building a suitable place of worship for the congregation of the Church of Scotland.

Dr. Bryce in his letter, dated the 25th January 1816, informed the Government that the Kirk Session of St. Andrew's Church had procured the Hall of the Old College, Tank Square, from the 1st January 1816, at a monthly rent of Rs. 500, and that while occupying the upper part as a temporary place of worship they let the lower floor of the house at a monthly rent of Rs. 250. He also stated that several expenses had been incurred by him since his arrival in the country, in procuring a pulpit, chairs and other necessary articles for the accommodation of the clergyman and hearers and in fitting up the hall with pews and requested instructions as to the manner in which they should be defrayed. He was informed in reply that the Government sanctioned the arrangement made by the Kirk Session for the appropriation of the upper floor of the old College Hall as a temporary place of worship and the disposal of the lower part, and that the Sub-Treasurer would accordingly be desired to pay monthly to the Kirk Session the sum of sicca Rs. 250, being the actual expense to be incurred on the above account. With reference to the other expenses he was requested to submit a statement of them with an explanation of the circumstances which rendered the expenses necessary.

Dr. Bryce in reply forwarded a statement in detail of the expenses incurred by him on account of the foundation of St. Andrew's Church, the erection of a pulpit, etc., and requested the appointment of a Clerk and Beadle. He was informed in reply* that an order would be issued on the General Treasury for the sum of Rs. 1,064-7-6 to enable him to pay the amount to the Kirk Session on account of the expenses incurred, and told that the allowances of the Clerk and Beadle, whom he stated to be necessary to entertain on the establishment of the Kirk, could not properly become a charge on the Honourable Company, but that it should be defrayed from the rents of the pews, the amount of which from the extent of the congregation must be considered sufficient to defray all the ordinary expenses of the Kirk.

Dr. Bryce in his letter of the 12th March 1816, reported for the information of Government that a regular register of the Marriages and

* Letter dated 16th March 1816.

Baptisms solemnized at St. Andrew's Church was kept under the authority and superintendence of the Kirk Session and stated in his letter of the 12th February 1816 that in obedience to the orders contained in the Charter* granted by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland to the Scotch chaplains in British India and under which the clergymen and members of the church, resident in India, were retained in full communion and participation of her ecclesiastical privileges, he had constituted a Kirk Session for the regulation of ecclesiastical matters connected with her establishment at that Presidency.

On the 29th March 1816, under the direction of the Committee for supervising the building of St. Andrew's Church, Dr. Bryce requested payment to Messrs. Burn, Currie and Co of the part instalment of 40,000 sicca Rupees due to them on terms of the contract with the Kirk Session. Similar requests were subsequently made for the second and third instalments of Rs. 30,000 each.

In May 1816, Dr. Bryce, in the name of the Kirk Session, reiterated the request for payment from the Public Treasury of the Ecclesiastical Establishment of St. Andrews Church and explained that the ordinary funds of the church received from seat rents were previously pledged for expenses attending the fitting up of the hall as a temporary place of worship, for expenses incurred in regard to the new church previous to entering into the contract, and for the Communion plate purchased by the Session.

In his letter of December 1816, Dr. Bryce requested, in the name of the Committee for supervising the building of St. Andrew's Church, the issue of orders for passing through the Custom House the marble commissioned by the Committee for paving the church, free of the usual duties, and the Government issued instructions accordingly.

In January 1817, for the third time by the direction of the Kirk Session, Dr. Bryce, who signed himself "as Moderator of the Kirk Session of St. Andrew's Church" repeated the request for the allotment from the Public Treasury of the monthly sum of sicca Rs. 290 for the support of the necessary establishment of officers and peons attached to the Scotch Church of Calcutta stating that the burden upon the funds of the church was very heavy, and that its revenue would prove altogether inadequate for enabling them to fulfil their engagements if the monthly expenditure of Rs. 290 had to be met from it. He at the same time stated that, in estimating this expense at the rate of Rs. 290 per month, the Kirk Session

* This was sent to the Government in original and seems from the note on the reverse of Consultation of 23rd March 1816, No. 41, to have been sent to the Sub-Treasurer on the 22nd March.

had placed it on as economical a scale as possible when compared with the expense incurred by Government for a similar purpose on the Episcopal Establishment and hoped that the Kirk Session would not be thought extravagant or unreasonable in their proposal. The Government, in its reply of the 18th January 1817, authorized him to draw the sum of *sicca* Rs. 234 monthly for the establishment of the church which was equal to the amount of the permanent allowance granted to the Old Church subject to the approval of the Court of Directors.

In his letter of the 28th February 1817, Dr. Bryce requested to be put in possession of a house or such sum as would have been consistent with his situation in society, for his residence, but he was told in reply that the Governor-General in Council did not think himself authorized to provide a house for his private accommodation at the public expense or to grant him a house allowance.

Dr. Bryce, in his letter dated the 31st January 1818, reported to Government in the name of the Kirk Session of St. Andrew's Church that the new church was ready to be opened for the performance of Divine Service, and that it was proposed that public worship should commence in it sometime in the month of February. He added—

"In the execution of the duty entrusted to the Kirk Session a very considerable sum of money amounting to between sixty and seventy thousand rupees over and above the lakh of rupees granted from the Public Treasury has been required. About one half of this sum, the Session have succeeded, as they anticipated, in raising by voluntary contributions. The other constitutes a debt with which the revenues of the church stand charged. The money thus raised has been laid out by the Session in marbling the aisles of the building, in procuring from England an organ for the public service of the church, in carrying the spire to its present height* and finishing it in its present elegant form, and also in providing for the lighting of the church for evening service. A very considerable expense has also been incurred by the Session in altering the premises of Messrs. Stewart & Co., in order to procure admittance for carriages to the north end of the church and in erecting an iron and brick enclosure around the site.

* "In the celebrated 'steeple' controversy also, the pugnacious Dr. Bryce was again victorious. The vexation of Mr. Le Bas (biographer of Bishop Middleton) in relating this fresh instance of Presbyterian presumption, is not a little amusing. "St. Andrew's Church in Calcutta," writes he, "is a much more stately fabric than St. John's Cathedral, while the Scotch Church at Madras is, perhaps, the noblest Christian edifice in Hindustan. It was built after the model of a Church in Italy, with two fine domes, and to these, was added a spire, which, like that at Calcutta, above the steeple of every English place of worship." Tradition says that Dr. Bryce placed the gilt cock on the steeple of St. Andrew's Church, Calcutta, to crow for all time over Bishop Middleton.

"I am directed by the Session respectfully to express their hopes that when the Hon'ble Vice-President in Council takes into consideration the highly useful as well as ornamental additions which the Kirk Session have thus been enabled to make to the building, and which becomes from this time the property of the Hon'ble Company, it will appear to Government no unreasonable request, on the part of the Session, to beg that the monthly sum now allowed to the church, out of the Public Treasury, under the heads of *Office Establishment* and *House-rent* may be continued. The Session need scarcely observe that to support and keep in order a building of so superior a kind, a considerable sum of money will necessarily be requisite, and they venture to indulge a hope that the sum* presently allowed of four hundred and eighty-four rupees per mensem will not appear to the Honourable Vice-President in Council as exorbitant.

"The Kirk Session further beg leave respectfully to state to Government that while the revenue of the church is burthened, as it must be for some time with a debt of Rs. 30,000, the Session would find it impossible to defray the necessary expence and at the same time provide for the liquidation of this debt. This revenue, the Session think, may on a moderate calculation be estimated at Rs. 500 per month. Should it appear advisable to the Honourable the Vice-President in Council to continue to the Session the present monthly allowance of Rs. 484, under the proviso that, at the liquidation of the debt, one moiety of this ordinary expence, shall be charged upon the ordinary revenues of the church, the Kirk Session will use all manner of diligence in providing for the extinction of this debt and will do themselves the honour of reporting to Government so soon as the revenue of the church is disburthened of the debt which has been contracted."

The Government in its reply of the 27th February 1818, wrote:—

"In reply I am directed to observe that when the Government resolved to grant the sum of sicca Rs. 1,00,000 towards building St. Andrew's Church in addition to the value of the ground on which it has been constructed estimated at sicca Rs. 30,000, this sum, (which was considered sufficient for the construction of a suitable church) was received by the Kirk Session on the express understanding that the Honourable Company was in no respect to be answerable for any further charge on account of the church. The Government at the same time expressed its conviction that the intentions of the Honourable the Court of Directors would be fully met by a grant to the above amount. With reference to these circumstances and to the consideration that a great part of the debt incurred appears to be composed of charges for the

* Rs. 250 for the upper floor of the old College Hall

Rs. 234 Establishment Allowance

Total 484.

ornamental part of the building the Vice-President in Council cannot consider that the Kirk Session is entitled to look to Government for pecuniary assistance, to enable it to provide for the extinction of that debt. The Vice-President in Council therefore regrets that he is precluded from complying with the request preferred in your letter for continuing to the Session the sum hitherto drawn by them for house-rent. This allowance will accordingly cease from the end of the present month.

"As, however, the grant of the sicca Rs. 234, for establishment, was made subject to the confirmation of the Honourable the Court of Directors, to whom a report has been submitted on the subject the Vice-President in Council authorizes the Kirk Session to draw that sum until the pleasure of the Court be known."

Dr. Bryce then applied in the name of the Kirk Session for the appropriation to them of the proceeds or such part of the proceeds of the lottery which was kept up at the Presidency as would have liquidated the debt against the church, and stated that such an appropriation was strictly within the legitimate objects for which the lottery was kept up, as the building for which it was asked was undoubtedly one of the greatest improvements in the city of Calcutta. In reply it was explained to him for what purposes the funds derived from such lotteries were intended, and he was informed that, however, glad the Vice-President in Council would be were it in his power to afford assistance to the Kirk Session, he regretted that he did not feel himself justified in acceding to his application.

In his letter dated 29th July 1818 to the Government Dr Bryce after making a comparison between the allowance of Rs. 234 on account of establishment made to the Scotch Church, and that of Rs. 912 granted to the English Cathedral for the same purpose including an Organist, requested that, as the Honourable Court of Directors had permitted a gentleman to proceed to Calcutta to discharge the duties of Organist at the Scotch Church, a competent salary might be allotted to him by Government. In reply he was informed that the Government were unable to accede to his request, but that they would submit the matter for the consideration of the Honourable Court, and a memorial on the subject from Dr. Bryce was subsequently forwarded to the Honourable Court.

In August 1818 the Committee appointed to superintend the building of St. Andrew's Church, reported the completion of the work and submitted their accounts showing a debit balance against the church of Rs. 33,828-7-0.* They added that this amount did not include the cost of the organ

•	535,371	1	0
	1,017,742	10	0
	33,828	7	0

nor of the marble with which the floor was laid as "the Members of the Church of Scotland at this Presidency" had "at their own expence bestowed them upon the Church of the Honourable Company." The Committee also asked that their accounts might be audited and suggested that a part of the funds arising from the Public Lotteries might be devoted towards paying off the debt. None of these proposals were accepted by the Government.

The Court of Directors in their Despatch of the 22nd August 1821 noticed the correspondence referred to above. In paragraph 9 of the Despatch they stated, —

"We cannot give our consent to the allowance of Rs. 234 per month which you have granted provisionally for the maintenance of an establishment to the church, we have already rejected a similar application from the Members of the Scotch Church at Madras."

And in the succeeding paragraphs they expressed surprise at Dr. Bryce's application for the continuance, after the completion of the church, of the house-rent of Rs. 250 per mensem granted for the provision of a temporary place of worship while the church was in course of construction, and approved of the refusal given by Government to appropriate a part of the Lottery towards the liquidation of the debt of the church incurred by the Kirk Session and to entertain the proposal of the Session that Government should take upon itself the liquidation of the debt, on the Session engaging to pay the seat rents into the Government Treasury until the amount due should be made good. The proposal to allot an adequate salary to the Organist of St. Andrew's Church was also negatived by the Court which remarked "that we did not as asserted by Dr. Bryce permit Mr. Alsagar to proceed to Calcutta to discharge the duties of Organist of St. Andrew's Church, but to proceed to your presidency and to remain there as an Organist, the Company being at no expense thereby."

On receipt of the above the Kirk Session in its letter of the 3rd October 1822 addressed the Government thus:—

"In again addressing the Governor-General in Council on the affairs of the Scottish Church at this Presidency, the Kirk Session of St. Andrew's Church beg leave to state that it is not without the greatest reluctance that they feel themselves obliged so often to intrude upon the attention of Government. But they humbly trust, that His Lordship in Council will recognise in the distressing state of embarrassment in which they are placed, a necessity for this intrusion which it is beyond the power of the Kirk Session to control.

"They beg leave at the same time to add, that should His Lordship in Council in compliance with the instructions of the Honourable Court of Directors feel himself under the necessity of withdrawing the allowance formerly granted for the support of the necessary establishment of church

officers while the debt now existing remains a burden on the revenues and property of St. Andrews, they are altogether at a loss to perceive how Divine Service can be conducted in it.

"The Kirk Session would now request the attention of His Lordship in Council to the establishment absolutely necessary to the due and becoming performance of Divine Worship at St. Andrew's Church. They do not consider it necessary to direct the notice of Government to the servants required for keeping the church clean and cool during the hot weather. But they beg leave to state that besides these a Precentor to conduct the Psalmody in Church and a Church Officer, corresponding in duty to the Sexton and Verger of the Episcopal Establishment, are necessary in the Presbyterian Polity. They likewise crave leave to observe that the Kirk Session of St. Andrew's Church form one of the lower judicatories of the Church of Scotland, from which there lies an appeal to the higher, and that they are consequently bound to keep a record of their ecclesiastical proceedings. They therefore respectfully submit that a Session Clerk, to keep this record and to grant authentic extracts from it, is also an officer so essential to their existence as a Church Court that without him these proceedings would not only be imperfect but the Session humbly apprehend illegal.

"Having thus taken the liberty of enumerating the officers required in our Presbyterian Polity, with the nature and extent of their duties, the Kirk Session venture to declare their conviction that Government cannot regard the rate of allowances formerly granted to these officers as on a scale that is exorbitant, when viewed with a reference to the value of money in this country or as compared with the office establishment of the Cathedral and Old Church.

"The Kirk Session further beg leave to state that the case of the Scotch Church at Madras referred to by the Honourable Court of Directors is far from parallel to that of St. Andrew's Church of Calcutta. The Session are informed that at Madras the whole expense of the building was defrayed out of the Public Treasury. No subscriptions in aid of the object were raised among the Presbyterian population of that Presidency and no money borrowed in order to complete it on the credit of the revenues or property of the church. But the Kirk Session beg leave to recall to the recollection of His Lordship in Council, that a sum of one Lakh of Rupees was originally granted to the Kirk Session of Calcutta, that subscriptions were obtained to the amount of nearly half a Lakh and a debt now amounting with interest to Sixty Rupees nearly 80,000 incurred by the Kirk Session under sanction of Government.

"At the outset of the Scotch Ecclesiastical Establishment in this country the Kirk Session flattered themselves that after receiving the lakh of Rupees so liberally bestowed on them, they would themselves have been able to complete

the edifice without burdening it with any debt. In this hope they are sorry to say they have been disappointed.

"The Kirk Session have had the honour of receiving a communication from the Hon'ble Company's Attorney with an extract from a letter of the Hon'ble Court of August 1821 directing that the Church shall be assigned to Trustees under certain stipulations laid down by the Hon'ble Court. The Session crave permission to remark that, while the debt is unpaid, the obstacles which stand in the way of the assignment directed appear to be unsurmountable. They would observe that the Kirk Session, acting under arrangements made with the sanction of Government, have vested rights as third parties upon which such assignment might be found most materially to trench. But the Kirk Session beg leave to observe that they are sincerely desirous to see the church of St. Andrew placed upon such a footing, as to render impossible its alienation to any other purpose, than that of divine service according to the form of the Church of Scotland and that as the existing debt can be regarded as the only obstacle in the way of this desirable object they venture to express a confident hope that His Excellency the Governor-General in Council will be pleased to remove this obstacle.

"The Kirk Session further beg leave to observe that should His Excellency the Governor-General in Council be pleased to liquidate the debt every day becoming a greater and greater burden upon St. Andrew's Church the monthly allowance of 234 Sicca rupees hitherto granted will be saved to the Public Treasury as the produce of seat rents when relieved from payment of interest of debt will be fully adequate to defray the expense of the necessary office establishment."

The Government replied to the above in its letter of 6th October 1822, and stated that it would recommend to the Honourable Court the liquidation of the debt of the church, but pending the Court's determination the Government offered either to restore the monthly establishment allowance of Rs. 234 or to advance a sum to them equal to the amount of the debt on their giving sufficient security for refunding the amount with interest should the Home Government not sanction the arrangement. It was suggested, however, that the latter proposal might be modified so that Government might advance only such a proportion of the sum as would liquidate any part of the debt standing at a high interest while the allowance of Rs. 234 monthly should be continued. The Kirk Session accepted this suggestion and asked for Rs. 60,000; the payment of the interest and ultimate discharge of the remainder of the debt it was intended should be met from the produce of the seat rents. The reason for their fixing upon the sum of Rs. 60,000 was explained to be that while the debt existed upon the church, a right in the property and revenues to that amount would be regarded as vested in the Kirk Session in virtue of the

donations given to them by the members of the Church of Scotland at the Presidency. They further stated that in the event of the Honourable Court declining to sanction these arrangements the Kirk Session would relinquish to Government every right and title in the above property. The allowance on account of the establishment was restored from the 1st November 1822. The Government, however, regretted its inability to advance the amount of Rs. 60,000 towards the liquidation of the debt as the security was not considered satisfactory, but promised that it would recommend for the favourable consideration of the Court of Directors the application of the Kirk Session to be relieved from their embarrassment.

The securities subsequently offered by the Kirk Session were accepted by the Government, in its letter of 17th October 1822, and the Session was informed that an order on the General Treasury for sicca Rs. 80,000 would be issued in favour of the Sub-Treasurer to pay to them on the securities executing an engagement for the repayment of the amount with interest if the Court of Directors refused to sanction the advance. The monthly allowance of Rs. 234 was withdrawn at the same time.

The application of the Kirk Session together with the subsequent correspondence on the subject of the debt of the church and the establishment allowance was forwarded to the Honourable Court of Directors by the Despatch of 1st January 1823* and recommended for sanction, but the Court refused† to alter the sentiments expressed in its Despatch of 22nd August 1821, disallowing the establishment allowance of Rs. 234 for St. Andrew's Church and disapproved of the advance of Rs. 80,000 to the Kirk Session to enable them to discharge the debt they had incurred on account of the Church. In consequence of these orders the sum of sicca Rs. 1,03,786-10-8 was refunded to Government, and Dr. Bryce was informed that copies of the Builder's report and estimates which accompanied his letter had been forwarded to the Military Board with direction to submit an estimate of the probable expense of repairing St. Andrew's Church. On receipt of this an expenditure of Rs. 2,789-0-9½ was sanctioned for this purpose, and it was remarked that "in executing the repairing it would be necessary to make only such repairs as shall be indispensable to preserve the building from delapidation without contributing at all to the embellishment or ornamental part of the Church."

With reference to Dr. Bryce's request for the restoration of the allowance of Rs. 234 the Government informed him that it would reconsider the matter on receipt of information as to the amount which was or

* Paragraphs 44-53.

† Despatch of 23 July 1824, from the Court of Directors, paragraphs 60-67.

would probably be annually realized from seat rents and the manner in which that amount was appropriated. The reply received to this letter was considered, however, to be improper, and the Government refused to proceed with the matter further. In his letters of the 25th December 1827 and 15th January 1828 * Dr. Bryce again pressed for an establishment allowance, and in a subsequent communication threatened, in case he did not receive a reply, that he would announce from the pulpit on the following Sunday that St. Andrew's Church would be shut up from that date. He was told that he had no authority to do so, and that if he withdrew himself from the performance of his duties he would be suspended. On the 7th April 1828, Dr. Bryce forwarded a Resolution of the Kirk Session to the effect that the Church should close until funds could be found for the payment of the Establishment. In reply to these letters the Government, in its letter of 17th April 1828, gave its decision in the following terms:—

"I am accordingly directed to inform you and to desire you will intimate to the Kirk Session that no establishment of Church Officers beyond the Senior and Junior Chaplains can at present be allowed by Government."

With reference to the question of the repairs of the church it was stated in the same letter, that the repairs done by Government were not to be considered a precedent from which it was to be concluded that the repairs would again be made by Government.

Eventually in 1835, after Dr. Bryce had proceeded to England to act in the name and on behalf of the creditors of St. Andrew's Church, the Court of Directors agreed to pay off the debt of Rs. 80,000 of the church in lieu of all claims which the creditors had on the seat rents and other revenues of the church, and by a Resolution of 6th February 1835 it was intimated that a treasury order had been issued for the repayment of the above sum to the Kirk Session which had been advanced to them in October 1822, leaving them to adjust the claims of the creditors. The Honourable the Court of Directors was informed accordingly in Government Despatch No. 1, of the 27th May 1835.

The facts stated in the foregoing sketch are to be found in the following records of the Government of India, Home Department:—

Consultations, 6th December 1814, Nos. 29-30.

1. " 20th December 1814, No. 34.
2. " 14th February 1815, No. 40.
3. " 4th April 1815, No. 45.
4. " 11th April 1815, No. 32.

* This portion of the correspondence in the Records is incomplete.

5. Consultations, 25th April 1815, Nos. 46-49 and 52.
6. " 18th May 1815, No. 39.
7. " 30th May 1815, No. 43A and B.
8. " 20th June 1815, Nos. 5-6.
9. " 3rd November 1815, No. 1.
10. " 25th November 1815, Nos. 25-26.
11. " 18th January 1816, No. 51.
12. " 10th February 1816, Nos. 46-47.
13. " 17th February 1816, No. 59.
14. " 16th March 1816, Nos. 47-49.
15. " 23rd March 1816, Nos. 41-43.
16. " 30th March 1816, No. 44.
17. " 25th May 1816, No. 43.
18. " 6th July 1816, No. 49.
19. " 28th December 1816, No. 62.
20. " 18th January 1817, No. 52.
21. " 1st March 1817, Nos. 42-43.
22. " 22nd March 1817, No. 38.
23. " 28th December 1817, No. 62.
24. " 27th February 1818, No. 45.
25. " 10th April 1818, Nos. 37-38.
26. " 28th August 1818, Nos. 1-2.
27. " 28th August 1818, Nos. 3 to 5.
28. " 25th September 1818, Nos. 7 and 8.
29. " 10th October 1822, Nos. 1-4.
30. " 17th October 1822, Nos. 2-3.
31. " 15th November 1827, Nos. 7-8.
32. " 25th November 1827, Nos. 3-4.
33. " 24th January 1828, Nos. 6-8.
34. " 17th April 1828, Nos. 2-6.
35. " 6th February 1835, Nos. 1-3.

S. C. SANIAL.



STATUE OF WAGHORN AT CHATHAM.



THE OVERLAND ROUTE NEAR CAIRO.

The Old Overland Route Across Egypt to India.

" And the Englishman straining far over to hold his loved India will plant a firm foot on the Banks of the Nile." *Kinglake's EOTHEN*, 1835.

VOYAGES round the Cape to India in the eighteenth century lasted three or eight months and cost two hundred to five hundred pounds. Sometimes the Government in India had to wait over a year to get replies to its dispatches from the Court of Directors of the Honorable East India Company in London, and this led to many curious experiences, for instance, the Government in India went without news of the declaration of war in Europe for many months, and likewise after peace had been declared in Europe they were still hammering at the French in India till the news came.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century Englishmen in India never took any leave to Europe, and later, in fact, until the Overland Route was opened people stayed in India fifteen or twenty years without going home. The evidence of India's old graveyards illustrates how they died—young in great numbers, and others in their prime. The fittest survived, and there are cases where men, after 30 or 60 years' service died in India at a ripe old age.

We have records which show that dispatches were being sent by way of the Red Sea and Egypt as early as 1778 by "the Suez Packet," although three years previously two parties had carried dispatches by this route under rather peculiar circumstances: Lord Pigot, the Governor of Madras, disagreeing with a resolution of his Council, suspended them from office and arrested the commander of the troops and was himself seized and confined. Each party then dispatched a messenger to the Directors in London, and to save time they were sent by the Red Sea. Captain Dibdin for the Council landed at Tor in the Gulf of Suez and reached London first. Mr. Eyles Irwin, Lord Pigot's emissary, travelled in the *Snow Adventure* and got as far as Yambo in Arabia after a voyage of 79 days. The *Visier* of Yambo gave the party much trouble and detained them in the town for a month. After much payment of exorbitant sums, an open boat was given to Mr. Irwin and his party to take them to Suez, and they christened this boat the *Imposition*.

After another month's voyage the Arab crew took them up the Gulf of Akabar telling them it was the Gulf of Suez. But Mr. Irwin made them put about, and they were thereupon taken to Kosseir where they were again detained and fleeced from the 9th to the 28th of July 1775, when at length they were permitted to move onward across the desert to their destination. Incidentally Lord Pigot died in confinement before the Directors came to any decision.

Mrs. Fay in her *Letters from India* gives a description of a journey across Egypt in the summer of 1779. They landed at Alexandria and took a boat up the Nile to Cairo and crossed the desert to Suez, and were very thankful to get there safely, as a month or two previously a party from India had been attacked by Bedouins and robbed of about £40,000 and stripped of their clothes and some had died of exposure. Also a Mr. Moore had been robbed in a similar manner about the same time. George Baldwin, the first British Consul-General in Egypt who was also Agent for the H.E.I. Company, represented the hardships and dangers to Anglo-Indians crossing Egypt to the Supreme Council in Bengal, as did also Mr. John O'Donnell, one of the persons robbed. Nothing was done, however, although Baldwin repeatedly pointed out the importance of a regular service through Egypt.

In 1797 the cruiser *Panther*, Captain Speak, sailed from Bombay to Suez and back taking over thirteen months owing to contrary winds. Voyages up and down the Red Sea at that time were exceedingly dangerous, and it may be mentioned that in 1801 when the army under Sir David Baird was sent from India to co-operate with Sir Ralph Abercromby in Egypt, the expedition lost fourteen ships in different parts of the Red Sea. A brave sailor, Captain William Mackay, in the *Perseverance* rescued a detachment of the 80th Regiment wrecked off Cape Guardafui. On arrival at Suez this same Captain Mackay, having reason to doubt the fidelity of the person who was entrusted to take the cargo across the desert to Sir David Baird, accompanied it himself in three trips to Cairo, and in the last trip was attacked by Bedouins whom he successfully drove off.*

About the year 1801, Baldwin was granted a *firman*† permitting him to navigate the Red Sea, and he arranged for a ship to be brought from Calcutta to Suez and another from London to Alexandria. To celebrate the event of their arrival Baldwin ascended the Great Pyramid with his friends and "poured out libations from three bottles of water from the Thames, the Ganges and the Nile, and toasted the union of the three rivers, and the expansion of British commerce through Egypt." Unfortunately Baldwin's

* Buxted, *Sketches from Old Calcutta*.

† D. A. Cameron, *Egypt in the Nineteenth Century*.

firman was cancelled by the Porte shortly afterwards, as the Red Sea being a holy sea, was "not to be profaned by infidels in the vulgar pursuit of trade." Here was felt "the blight which for generations past has withered some of the fairest regions of the earth."^{*}

In May 1799, when the French were in Egypt, Mr. John Barker was appointed H. E. I. Company's Agent at Aleppo, in order to transmit the important dispatches between India and England *via* Constantinople and Basra. In the 16th and 17th centuries this route had been the great highway to India, and Aleppo itself had been a great mart. There had been English factories at Aleppo and Alexandretta composed of about eighty houses, or firms, but these factories were closed and the Aleppo route abandoned, when the East India trade was diverted round the Cape.[†] This too was the route (*via* Suedia on the Mediterranean, Aleppo and the Euphrates,) which was surveyed in 1835, and advocated for years by that great man, General Sir George Chesney. In 1856 Chesney and Sir John Macneil surveyed a railway line along this route. He always maintained that this would be the road to India finally adopted, and the question is to-day about to be settled.

Between 1800 and the coming of Waghorn there are but few records of travellers by the future Overland Route across Egypt, although in 1817 Lt. Colonel Frederick Fitzclarence carried dispatches from Bombay to Falmouth *via* Kosseir, Kena, the Nile and Cairo. Colonel Fitzclarence says that at that time the banks of the Nile abounded with "crawling crocodiles, scorpions and insolent Turks," and the voyage down was difficult. The desert route from Kosseir to the Nile at Kena was never very much frequented by Anglo-Indians, it being very tedious and slow and in Colonel Fitzclarence's case the duplicates of the dispatches he was carrying arrived (probably by Aleppo) a fortnight before him.

This voyage, and others, did not encourage the H.E.I.C. Directors to support the proposed route through Egypt. However public meetings were held in London and Calcutta between 1822 and 1826 where were discussed many schemes to shorten the voyage to Europe by establishing steam communication round the Cape or through the Red Sea. A subscription fund was raised for the encouragement of any attempt, by either route, to be

* Mr. Asquith's Guildhall speech, November 9th 1914.

† Edward Barker, *Syria and Egypt under the last five Sultans of Turkey*. 2 vols, 1876. Mr. John Barker held this post at Aleppo till it was abolished in 1826. He was appointed Consul in Alexandria in 1826 and succeeded Mr. Henry Salt as Consul-General on the latter's death in Alexandria in 1827. It was Mr. Salt who accompanied Lord Valentia on his travels in India as an artist. Mr. Barker was also H. E. I. C. Agent in Egypt from 1828 to 1833. At the time he was at Aleppo, the H. E. I. C. Agent at Constantinople was Mr. Peter Tooke and at Basra, Mr. Samuel Manesty.

made before the expiration of 1826, subject to a time-limit of 140 days for the double journey. A pioneer voyage was made with a steam-vessel by Captain Johnston R. N. in the *Enterprise*, which was sent round the Cape to Calcutta in 1826, but the voyage was hardly a success for rapidity.

Lieutenant Thomas Waghorn now appears in this history of endeavours. His life is bound up with the Overland Route. He sacrificed his life, his energy and his money to gain this benefit for his fellow men—a benefit which was to bring India and the East months nearer England and develop enormously the social, commercial and political relations of the Empire. It is difficult to remember so great a hero who in his time has been treated worse, and who deserved more from his country. He sent appeal after appeal to the Government and to the H. E. I. Company for recognition and help. It was not till when heavily in debt and dying, that he was given an annuity and a small grant, but he did not live many weeks to enjoy them. This tragedy is almost impossible to realize in modern times.

For years his only memorial was a tablet erected by his wife in Snodland church. In 1870 de Lesseps placed a bust of Waghorn at the Suez entrance of the Canal with the following graceful tribute:—

"Erected in homage to the memory of the generous, though unfortunate, man who alone, without any help, by a long series of labours and heroic efforts, practically demonstrated and determined the adoption of the postal route through Egypt and the communication between the East and West of the world, and this was the originator and pioneer of the great Egyptian maritime commerce completed by the Canal of the two Seas."

When the occupation of Egypt turned the attention of people to his memory a fine statue was erected to him at Chatham thirty-eight years after his death, but on the other hand one should remember that not many years ago it appeared that his two daughters were living neglected and in great poverty, and that they were given a small Government pension to help them in their old age.

Thomas Waghorn was born at 166, High Street, Chatham, on June the 20th. 1800. He entered the Royal Navy* at the early age of twelve, serving on H. M. frigate *Tigris* on the Home and West India Stations. Just before he entered his seventeenth year this brilliant boy passed his examination in navigation for promotion to lieutenant, being the youngest midshipman that had ever done so. At the end of 1817 he was paid off, and went as

* Herr Baedeker in the usual cheerful way of his countrymen claims Waghorn for the German nation. In his Guide for Egypt he says that Waghorn was an enterprising German in the service of the H. E. I. C.

third mate of free trader to Calcutta and returned home. In 1819 he was appointed to the Bengal Marine Pilot Service, and in 1824 he was asked by the Bengal Government to volunteer for the Arakan War, and he left Chittagong with the flotilla operating on the coast. Later he was given command of the Company's cutter *Matchless*, and on one occasion he hoisted a 12-pounder from the deck of his ship on to a perpendicular rock, 220 feet high, now known as "Waghorn's Rock" in the Arakan River. Eventually owing to the sickness of his brother officers he became senior naval commander on the Arakan Coast between Chittagong and Sandoway. In his petition to the British Government in 1848 he wrote that he "received the thanks of the authorities of the province (after two years and a half service), with a constitution then undermined from the painful fever of Arracan where so many thousands died, for out of 19,000 men (army and flotilla) comprising the division, not 100 are now alive. The pestilence of that climate reduced the forces, in six months, to two tenths of their original number."

In Calcutta "he rallied to the great project he had secretly at heart, namely, 'A steam communication between our Eastern possessions and their mother-country England,' ere his departure from Calcutta on furlough, in 1827, ill in health, harassed from Arracan fever, still between its attacks, his energies returned." In Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, he always had the support of the merchants and local Governments, while on the other hand in England he fought against the apathy of the H.E.I.C. and was commonly looked on as a dreamer or a madman. In Calcutta Waghorn was chosen by Lord Combermere and a committee of merchants to forward his project in England, and before leaving India was also deputed by influential merchants in Madras to advance the interests of that city in connection with his scheme.

His first idea was for steam communication round the Cape, but the more rapid alternative route through Egypt was very shortly decided on. His steamers were "to be built after the model of the Leith smacks, of 200 or 220 tons, and to be provided with two 25 horse-power engines, their masts to be so constructed as to lower down on deck in case of head winds, and the funnel also to be lowered at pleasure." He anticipated that the voyage from London to Calcutta would take seventy days. On arrival in England he advocated the object of his visit at all points, particularly in London, Liverpool, Manchester, Glasgow and Birmingham. The Post Office was at that time opposed to ocean steam navigation and the E. I. Directors (except a Mr. Loch) were cruelly obstinate and rejected his scheme as altogether impracticable, and a lesser man than Waghorn would have dropped this benefit he wished to confer on mankind.

In describing the interview he had with the Chairman of the Court, he says: "I told him that the feeling in India was most ardent for it, that the

Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, had done me the honour to predict that if ever the object was accomplished it would be by the man who had navigated the Red Sea in an open boat. To all this the Chairman replied that the Governor-General and the people of India had nothing to do with the India House, and added that if I did not go back and join their Pilot Service, to which I belonged, I should receive such a communication as would be by no means agreeable to me. On the instant I penned my resignation, and placing it in his hands, told him I would establish the Overland Route in spite of the India House."

So here we have Waghorn with great self-sacrifice resigning his post in the Company, while holding only a midshipman's rank in the Royal Navy (for he was not given the rank of lieutenant till 1842, after repeated applications), defying the Chairman and all the John Company's might and power. This opposition on the part of the H. E. I. C. wrecked a similar scheme for steam communication between Bombay to Suez. In 1828 the Governor of Bombay, General Sir John Malcolm, sent Major Barnwell to England with dispatches for the Directors putting forward the plan of his predecessor. Three or four steamers were to be used, and the voyage to England was to take 34 days, and dispatches, mails and passengers were to be carried.*

Although the Directors did not give much support to the proposal the steamer *Hugh Lindsay* was built, costing £40,000, of 411 tons, with two 80 H. P. engines. Mistakes had been made in her construction for she had bunker capacity for six days steaming only, whereas the nearest land was 8 or 10 days from Bombay. To get over this difficulty the bunkers, holds and passenger accommodation were filled with coal to enable the ship to reach Aden. After she had been thus loaded it was found that the *Hugh Lindsay* was so deep in the water that the engines could hardly turn the paddles. She sailed however, and providentially the weather was fine. Commander John Wilson R. N. brought his ship into Suez on the 22nd of April 1830, the first steamer to sail the Red Sea. The voyage took a few hours less than thirty-three days, and taking into consideration her speed was only six knots, it was a fine performance of seamanship in uncharted navigation. Coal depôts had had to be established at Aden, Jedda, Kosseir and Suez, before this voyage could be made, and the expence of coal alone was sufficient to stop any further support from the Directors.

To return to Waghorn, in October 1829, he was called on by Lord Ellenborough, then President of the India Board, and Mr. Loch, the new

* See *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. III. p. 182..... At that time Admiral Sir Charles Malcolm was Superintendent of Marine at Bombay and Sir Pulteney Malcolm was Vice Admiral at Malta. Sir John himself went to Cairo in 1830 and was magnificently received by the enlightened Viceroy, Mohamed Ali Pasha.

Chairman of the court of Directors, to go to India by way of Egypt with dispatches for Sir John Malcolm, and more especially to report upon the practicability of the Overland Route and the navigation of the Red Sea. To prove the efficiency of which route he was to deliver answers to the dispatches in London within a certain time.

Waghorn left London on the 28th of October 1829 travelling rapidly *via* Trieste, and about the same time a Mr. Taylor was sent out by a Company and he met Waghorn at Suva. Mr. Taylor's Company's scheme was for twelve steamers to ply each side of the Isthmus of Egypt, each ship being at least 550 tons and to carry 40 or 50 passengers. Finding that Waghorn already had his scheme well in hand, it is said that Mr. Taylor transferred his energies to the Tigris where a steamer company was started.*

Waghorn also carried a dispatch containing a series of questions for Mr. John Barker, the Consul-General at Alexandria, who had already given the Company his views on the subject of the Overland Route and had been told then that "it was not a matter of his competence." Having changed their minds Mr. Barker answered the questions of which he wrote at the time, "these questions show, that they are balancing the advantages and disadvantages of the two routes, namely, that of Bussorah and Aleppo, and this channel (*via*, Egypt) for the transmission of their correspondence by steamers, in the supposition that the Euphrates might be navigable to steam-vessels, a point which, I apprehend, there is no man living who can decide, and which can be ascertained only by actual survey."† It seems therefore if Sir George Chesney (who arrived in Egypt the following year) had made his survey of the Euphrates before that time, and not afterwards when the Red Sea Overland Route had been adopted, the former route might have been chosen. As it was, in the absence of a survey, Mr. Barker's report recommended the Overland Route.‡

Waghorn left Alexandria after a few days' stay proceeding on donkey to Rosetta, to Cairo by boat, and across the desert on a camel to Suez. His journey onwards from Suez to Jedda, proved again his marvellous perseverance and tenacity: Finding no ship to take him on to Bombay he left Suez on the 9th of December in an open boat for Jedda about 650 miles distant. He had neither chart nor compass, his crew of six Arabs threatened mutiny, but Waghorn said he would shoot the first man who persisted in his refusal to proceed. After a further delay at Jedda, where he had an attack of fever, he was taken on to Bombay in H. M. S. *Thetis*, Captain Moresby.

* Mr. J. W. Taylor was a brother of Major Taylor, the H. E. I. C. Resident at Basra.

† It is a curious fact that the projects of the two great English pioneers should be followed by other nations, Chesney's by the German Bagdad Railway, and Waghorn's by the Suez Canal.

It may be mentioned here that Mohamed Ali Pasha, the Viceroy of Egypt, granted Waghorn a *firman* to arm him on his way. Mohamed Ali was altogether favourable to the Overland Route and encouraged Waghorn in every way. The following episode illustrates both men's character. In October 1839 news came to Waghorn at Alexandria of Sir John Keane's victory at Ghazni and too late for a steamer which had left for England the day before. Mohamed Ali immediately lent Waghorn his steam yacht to take the news to Malta for instant transmission to England. Waghorn took command of the yacht. On another occasion the Pasha gave Waghorn confidential dispatches to deliver to the Grand Vizir at Constantinople and Waghorn's strong character and charm of manner were greatly appreciated by the Pasha.

On arrival at Bombay, the thanks of the Government were voted to Waghorn, and the tariff he proposed to charge on letters and packages by his route was sanctioned. He returned to London by the same route and delivered answers to the dispatches within the stipulated time. He was absolutely convinced that the Overland Route was the channel for the conveyance of the Indian Mails, and that its establishment would cause an enormous development of trade and advance British interests in every way. But even then (1830) the Honourable Directors did not recognize the necessity for action. Waghorn was still left to do the work alone. He therefore returned to Egypt as a private individual (without even the rank of Lieutenant) and set to work with the assistance of Mahomed Ali to establish the Overland Route. The road between Cairo and Suez was prepared and eight halting places with towers to signal the progress of the mails were built. While at work at these he lived in the tents of the Bedouins on the road and made friends with them, thus securing safety for future travellers. Between the years 1831 and 1834 he supervised the carriage of the mails and passengers himself; he managed to convey them from Bombay to England in forty-seven days without the advantage of steamers in the Mediterranean or railways on the Continent.

Passengers began to patronize the new Route, and in February 1835 the *Hugh Lindsay* opened a regular service between Bombay and Suez, which was continued by Government steamers until 1840 when the P & O. S. N. Co. were given the contract which they have held without competition ever since. It is not on record, but it would appear that Waghorn was prepared to take up this contract, which undoubtedly should have been given to him, as he had already spent much money on the route. Instead of getting the contract he was deserted with a debt of £5000. Marseilles appears to have been the Continental port used, although at one time (between 1845 and 1847) Waghorn experimented again with his old and rapider route *via* Trieste, in order to show M. Guizot and the French Government that England had a faster

alternative route across the Alps than across France. It is recorded that the first public mail was carried this way. Letters had been carried previously, but the first public mail left Bombay the 1st October 1845 and reached Suez on the 19th and Alexandria on the 20th. It was shipped to Trieste and carried across the Continent by way of Bavaria, the Rhine and Belgium, arriving in London on the 31st October.

Waghorn was for ever travelling backwards and forwards between Bombay or Alexandria and London by Marseilles, Trieste, Genoa or Ancona and wherever he went he made friends with the rulers of the States concerned, such as Pope Pius the Ninth, the King of Sardinia and Mohamed Ali Pasha. It appears when he was experimenting with the Trieste route, and finding that he was spending much money on the account of the Government from his own pocket, he asked the authorities and the Honourable Company to guarantee payment when the experiment was completed. This was agreed to, but when he presented his bill the Treasury and the Honourable Company refused to pay! Six months before his death, he petitioned the Government once more, saying that the non-payment of the £2000 due to him had preyed upon him, since, "and now, a wreck alike almost in mind and body, I am sustained alone by the hope that the annals of the Insolvent Court will not have inscribed upon them the *Pioneer of the Overland Route*, because of obligations he incurred for the public, by direction of the public authorities." Waghorn died at Islington on the 7th of January, 1850, at the early age of 49; he had worn himself out and made himself an invalid and had sown the seeds of a broken constitution in the performance of his duty to the Government and to the people.

When the P. & O. were given the contract in 1840 a regular fortnightly service to and from India seems to have been introduced, and Waghorn left Egypt the following year, his work completed. As regards the journey across Egypt, it has already been stated that before the Mahmudiya canal was opened between Alexandria and the Nile, passengers for Cairo had to go by land or boat to the Rosetta branch of the Nile. After this canal was opened in 1826 the journey across was accomplished in six days by steamers to Cairo (158 miles) and by a service of carriages, vans and horses, arranged by Waghorn, by his road to Suez (88 miles). It is understood that the P. & O. and "the Land Transport Corps" undertook these arrangements when Waghorn left, or perhaps the new contract was the cause of his leaving. In 1845 the mails were rushed across in part of two days, but this does not appear to have been a permanent arrangement, as passengers certainly took longer.

Waghorn in concert with Mr. George Wheatley organized a shipping business in London in 1837 for booking passengers and luggage by the Overland Route. This firm still exists in a greatly developed form and is now well-known as Geo. W. Wheatley & Co. of 95, Upper Thames Street &c. to whom I am greatly indebted for much information concerning

Waghorn. The first link of the railway from Alexandria to Cairo was opened as far as Kafr Zayat on the Nile in 1854 and completed to Cairo in 1856. In 1858 the railway was extended across the desert from Cairo to Suez, and this did away for ever with the tedious journey over the 88 miles of desert in carriages. Between 1851 and 1858 thousands of Anglo-Indians must have toiled along this road to England and health, or to India and work.*

The traveller, Von Orlich, tells us of the journey from Alexandria to Suez in 1842. At Alexandria he embarked in a boat on the Mahmudia Canal, which he describes as being fifty paces broad and about six feet deep. The boat was drawn by four horses as far as Atfa on the Nile where the *Lotus*, a 32-H. P. steamer, received them and conveyed them to Cairo. From Cairo he was taken over Waghorn's road to Suez in a two-wheeled cart with a linen awning and drawn by four horses. Von Orlich complained of the heat in July under the linen awning and was glad to get on board the *Berenice* in which he sailed for India.

It is refreshing to read Thackeray and to find how at least he appreciated the work and energy of Waghorn. Thackeray landed in Alexandria in October 1844 and travelled up the Mahmudia Canal to Atfa in one of the P. & O. "fly-boats" towed by a steamer, and from thence to Cairo in a Nile steamer. Landing at Bulak, after a voyage of about thirty hours, he mounted a donkey and raced into Cairo "over a fair road and the wide-planted plain of the Ezbekieh; where are gardens, canals, fields, and avenues of trees, and where the great ones of the town come to take their pleasure." He put up at the Hotel d'Orient where the court was "full of bustling dragomans, ayahs, and children from India; and poor old venerable benurses, with grey beards and crimson turbans; tending little white-faced babies that have seen light at Dum Dum or Futtigarh."

Waghorn had returned to Egypt on one of his flying visits and Thackeray catches sight of him. "The bells are ringing prodigiously; and Lieutenant Waghorn is bounding in and out of the courtyard full of business. He only left Bombay yesterday morning; was seen in the Red Sea on Tuesday, is engaged to dinner this afternoon in the Regent's Park, and (as it is about two minutes since I saw him in the courtyard) I make no doubt he is by this time at Alexandria, or at Malta, say, perhaps, at both. *Il est capable*. If any man can be at two places at once (which I don't believe or deny) Waghorn is he."

It is impossible not to continue quoting from the *Journey from Cornhill to Grand Cairo*. Thackeray gives a racey description of the Anglo-Indian travellers passing through. After telling us that the Hotel d'Orient was a comfortable house with sixty rooms capable of accommodating a large

* The road still exists and is good enough for mules. In 1869 the Desert railway from Cairo to Suez was abandoned on the opening of the Suez Canal on the 17th of November of that year.

proportion of the Anglo-Indians from India and England who passed through Cairo every fortnight, he says :

"Six o'clock bell rings. Sixty people sit down to a quasi-French banquet: thirty Indian officers in moustaches and jackets; ten civilians in ditto and spectacles; ten pale-faced ladies with ringlets, to whom all pay prodigious attention. All the pale ladies drink pale ale, which perhaps, accounts for it; in fact the Bombay and Suez passengers have just arrived, and hence this crowding and bustling, and display of military jackets and moustaches, and ringlets and beauty. The windows are open, and a rush of mosquitoes from the Ezbekieh waters, attracted by the wax candles, adds greatly to the excitement of the scene."

This is delightful. Thackeray admittedly described Egypt from the Cockney point of view. Others might describe it a hundred times otherwise, but only he could leave us this imperishable picture. Still, he fears it is hardly an account of Egypt, it is not, he says, "it is England in Egypt. I like to see her there with her pluck, enterprise, manliness, bitter ale, and Harvey Sauce." Comparing Napoleon's enterprise in Egypt with Waghorn's, he says, "but what are his wonders compared to Waghorn? Nap massacred the Mamelukes at the Pyramids: Wag has conquered the Pyramids themselves: dragged the unwieldy structures a month nearer England than they were.....Be ours the trophies of peace! O my country! O Waghorn! *Hoc tibi exunt artes*. When I go to the Pyramids I will sacrifice in your name, and pour out libations of bitter ale and Harvey Sauce in your honour."

Seventy years afterwards there has come a second Anglo-Indian invasion to defend the canal which has superseded Waghorn's Overland Route, but one missed the ringlets, the pale ale and the Harvey Sauce.

In conclusion, to George Baldwin is the honour of having been the first Englishman (probably before Napoleon's scheme for a Suez canal) to see the great future before the route by Egypt to India and the possible expansion of British commerce, years before Kinglake's remarkable prophecy quoted at the beginning of this article, and before Waghorn was born. It is, however, of Waghorn that our memories should not grow dim, for twenty years he toiled almost alone till he succeeded. It was Waghorn who stimulated the zeal of de Lesseps, when they met in 1838, in his scheme for the Suez Canal, a project that Waghorn may himself have had in mind when he was labouring to attain his modest Overland Route in the face of the opposition of his countrymen. Today, under the trees by the canal side at Suez, stands Waghorn's bust erected by de Lesseps, facing the ships that pass to the East and to the West, and at Chatham is Waghorn's statue. Otherwise there is little to show to the memory of him that died in poverty in 1850.

A. F. C. de Cosson.

The Letters of Mr. Richard Barwell—V.

LETTER No. CXVIII.

CALCUTTA,

The 19th September, 1768.

TO MESSRS JOHN DUVAL AND SONS, LONDON.

[Of no interest.]

LETTER No. CXIX.

CALCUTTA,

29 August, 1768.

TO MR. PETER MARRIETTE AT FORT ST. GEORGE.

Forwarding a small parcel of emeralds valued at Rs 542-12-6

LETTER No. CXX.

CALCUTTA,

The 19th September, 1768.

TO ANSELM BEAUMONT, ESQ

Dear Beaumont,

I have been favored with the following letters dated the 13th November and 11th December 1767, 3th, 8th, 9th and 29th January 1768 and 28th February 1768. The bill of exchange advised by the letter of the 11th December has been accepted and will be discharged when due. Prompt payment has been tendered and refused account the gold currency. But as the bills are drawn in currency, I do suppose, as all the gentlemen on whom bills are drawn are determined not to submit to the imposition of disbursing the bills in any particular silver specie, that the French Council by the tenor of the bills will be obliged to take the current coin of the place. The letters that passed between Mr. Boutat and your humble servant on the subject go enclosed.

Your letter of credit for £30 in favor of Mr. Peter Downes has been attended to as has that in favor of Mr. Mayaffree for £20. Both these gentlemen have been paid the rupee at 2 shillings and 2 pence half penny. Copy of their receipts go enclosed. These two letters of credit are dated the 5th and 9th January 1768 and relate to no other circumstance.

Your letter of the 29th January confirms the advice of your having drawn on me for £5,000, and intimates your having procured me a preference in the cash to be taken up here for bills on the French Company. This I shall take the benefit of, and remit you the balance in my hands. And I may possibly take up 20,000 myself to enable you to answer my drafts on you in favour of Mr. George Hay, that is, if I cannot remit by any other channel on better terms and of which at present I see no prospect. Now for your two long letters of the 13th November 1767 and 8th January 1768. Baxton himself will have occasion for the money he has in England and intends writing to his brother, and as you will get French bills for all your cash in India, this will not prove a disappointment to you—a lucky circumstance: you will perceive the lengths I went last year to get you home some moneys. Those remittances, though not very advantageous, yet I hope will be approved.

The marble slabs still remain at Mootajill and at Patna. What can I do? I cannot sell them, and as for the gentlemen who should assist you they are so taken up with accumulating wealth to themselves, that they are deaf to the calls of friendship, and what is worse, with the most extensive power to be generous, they seem to have forgotten the world in themselves. Narrow souls. May the gold they worship be taken from them! For themselves they can oblige the zemindars to take off 3 or 4 lacs of rupees worth of cotton and oblige them to pay Rs 26 and Rs 27 the maunds for it. This was the more grievous and oppressive, for the poor devils afterwards to pay the revenues were obliged to sell the same cotton at public markets for Rs 12 and Rs 13 per maund. Yet they pretend an impropriety in urging to the Nabob to take your marble at the very time he has been bringing marble from Seja Dowlah's country to make a bath and* to his new house. You may judge hence, my Friend, the little you have to expect from our present great men. The Rajabarry adventure remains in *statu quo*, and I am afraid will remain so. I have wrote a note to V. on the subject this morning. The demand on Mrs. Bodle is made with interest, but I am not as yet certain whether or not it will be paid. Captain Thomas's debt is to be paid. I go to-morrow to swear I have not received any part of it, and that I believe it to be due to you. I was not able, as you will perceive by the rough statement of your affairs enclosed, to make any further remittance to Mr. Bourchier of which I am glad, as you yourself wished it not

made. Chaund Holdar's bond delivered by Captain Adams you will find has been accounted. I particularised it in my letters of last year.

With respect to coral consignments I could wish for as many as possible, the commission being large and the sales not overtroublesome. Therefore remember me in this particular if I am absent; my assigns will be in Calcutta.

With respect to my affairs in your and Leycester's hands, I have only to hope they will answer my demands on you; if they should not, you may depend that I will make it up by the first opportunity and with interest.

Politicks—*Simper idem.*

No cash in the Bengall treasury

Do Do Madras treasury

Do Do Bombay treasury.

A war on the Coast spun out to a shameful length and likely to be continued still longer, unless Mr. Dupre should pursue more vigorous measures than have hitherto been taken.

Bombay by the Coast War under terrible apprehensions. Bengal under some apprehensions from Suja ul Dowlah. Messrs Cartier, Russell and Col. Smith form a deputation and proceed for Eliabad* in a few days. What they determine my Honble Masters are to support, come peace come war.

Dear Beaumont, should Mr. Vansittart come out I am convinced he may greatly add to his reputation. Many regulations are absolutely necessary and which attended to with proper spirit will greatly enrich the Company, eradicate the oppression the country groans under, and in a great measure ensure to the Company a revenue far less fluctuating than the present. Health be with you.

I am etc.,

P. S. I have done Captain Stainforth all the service in my power. His investment I have got the merchants to take and I believe at a premium higher than any captain arrived in the course of this year has been able to sell at.

Sd. R. B.

Enclosure.†

WHEREAS many and pressing complaints have been lately made of the heavy grievances accruing both to trade in general and to domestic expences from the present high exchange of silver rupees, as the established

* Allahabad.

† On the subject of the gold-currency of 1766-1769, see Hunter: *Annals of Rural Bengal*, Chap. V.

currency of gold mohurs has been particularly pointed out as the immediate source of this evil, the GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL OF FORT WILLIAM to demonstrate their hearty desire and most ready endeavours to remove every appearance of public burthen have unanimously resolved and do hereby notify :

That they are ready for the space of fifteen days ensuing from the date and publication hereof to receive into the treasury all gold mohurs of the late currency at the full rate of fourteen sicca rupees their original fixed value and for every amount of the same above the sum on and value of one thousand rupees to issue interest notes payable in or within the space of twelve months which said notes are to bear an interest of 8 per cent per annum from their respective dates.

And it is hereby further published and declared that none of the said gold mohurs so received will be again issued from the said treasury, and the orders of the Select Committee for this Establishment of the gold currency are at the expiration of fifteen days from this date to be annulled.

By order of the Hon'ble THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL

FORT WILLIAM the 6th September 1768

(Signed) EDWARD BABER,

Secretary.

LETTER No. CXXI.

CALCUTTA,

The 19th September 1768.

TO THOMAS HOWE, ESQ.

[Of no interest.]

LETTER No. CXXII.

CALCUTTA,

The 20th September, 1768.

TO RALPH LEYCESTER, ESQ.

Dear Leycester,

The first ship and not a letter from me I fear would have brought me to disgrace, and yet so it had like to have been owing to my indolence and the sudden closing of the present dispatches.

Your letters of the 18th September and the other without date by the ship *Talbot* are received. We have been agog for decisive intelligence from the

arrival of the *Admiral Watson* to this very instant and are still upon the rack. What party will prevail depends, I believe, greatly on the Ministry, as the Regulations respecting the India stock holders, I apprehend, must if anything have increased before the great influence of the Government.

I find Mr. V.—'s eyes are at last opened, on the Lord. There was a great mistake in policy, I think, from the first: a Coalition could never take place. Clive will not submit to share his power; and, after what has passed, Mr. V. would have been mad to have thrown the game into his hands and confided in his generosity. Be assured then all his Lordship's aim in encouraging Mr. V. to hope a coalition was a mere artifice intended to create a jealousy and detach Johnstone from his party, and considering the reports propagated, I wonder it had not some effect. I think I now see you drawing up in battalions, with pamphlets displayed by way of ensigns, pens in each ear and each hand, and a face well be-blacked with ink, defying the utmost malice of your enemies. In this state I commend you to victory and hope the crown you engage for will not prove mere paper, for the sweets contained in the paper appear to me in great danger of being demolished by the innumerable insects buzzing around it. I hope my conjectures will not be confirmed; should they, repentance will certainly prove too late. Let the Government but once trample on the Company's rights, the consequence will be instantly felt by the nation. The mercantile and territorial interests are indivisibly blended, and an attempt to disunite them, I am convinced, instead of benefiting the nation, will greatly lessen those advantages which arise to it from their union. But this is for heads all wise to consider and determine upon. The increase of dividend balloted for and carried against the Directors the Company's affairs will point out to have been a wrong measure, and the expectation of wealth from these parts will not be nearly answered, for the investment is not more than equal to that of the last year; and as for the treasury it has with difficulty disbursed the ordinary expence of the Government. Bombay and Madras are equally distressed for money. The war with Hyder Naig is still to be concluded, and apprehensions are entertained here of the power of Suja Dowla, whose force in disciplined seapoys is much beyond what Cossim ever had to boast of. Messrs. Cartier, Col. Smith and Russell are to be deputed to the King or to Suja Dowla, whether the first or the last or to both I know not, but that they leave Calcutta in a few days for Eliabad is certain. I enclose you a publication relative to the gold currency. Bolts, I believe, will be forced home by this ship and in all probability afford much matter for the lawyers to work upon. He had vapoured away here, but I much doubt whether he will not repent of the folly of irritating power. By the Charter the Council have the power of dismissing an Alderman for misbehaviour or complaint preferred in writing

by the party aggrieved. With what propriety they have exerted it against Bolts will be determined by the King and Company should he appeal. He has got some curious anecdotes and well worth your perusal; he will shew them to you, if you express the least inclination to see them. Make my *salam* to Mrs. Leycester and believe me, your very sincere Friend etc.

LETTER No. CXXIII.

CALCUTTA,

The 10th November 1768.

TO ANSELM BEAUMONT, ESQ.

Dear Beaumont,

Enclosed you will receive the first Bill of Exchange for £5,000 (Pounds sterling five thousand) with a letter to the Directors of the French East India Company.

I send for your perusal a copy of Mr. Garden's letter relative to the remittance *via* Aleppo and two letters from Mr. Chevalier of the 29th and 30th October. Messrs. Boardieu and Chollet in their letter of the 2nd February 1768 advised that I was to have had a preference in the remittance to be made this season, but such negotiations in Europe, I do suppose, interfere with the private interests of the French gentlemen in India, as I have not been able to obtain even a remittance of £5,000 on the strength of that recommendation. Private bills I did not choose to accept on your account, as those would not have been negotiable, and I do suppose the public channel must be open again in eight months.

I am etc.,

Enclosure 1.

BUSSORA,

The 13th August, 1768.

TO RICHARD BARWELL, ESQ.

Dear Barwell,

Having received advices from my correspondent at Aleppo that he will remit my money to England to the best advantage he can, I shall send what I have of Grady's and yours to him as soon as I can procure bills on Aleppo which I hope will be very shortly. The exchange he writes me is from $\frac{2}{5}$ to $\frac{2}{7}$ per piaster which on medium will amount to about $\frac{2}{3}$ per Persia rupee. You omitted, my Friend, to give me Mr. Beaumont's direction in London;

however as I am informed he lives in Pall Mall, when I remit his money I will write to him and direct to him accordingly.

Not having hitherto been able to sell anything I shall be obliged to remain here till next year. Therefore if you have any business in these parts you may without ceremony command, dear Barwell, your affectionate Friend,

Robert Garden.

GARRATY,

The 30th October, 1768.

Enclosure II.

TO RICHARD BARWELL, ESQ., AT CALCUTTA.

Sir,

The bearer is one of our Company's banians which (*sic*) to your request I send you in order to receive the amount of the Bill of Exchange drawn upon you. That bill he will transmit you in the same time.

I am etc.,

CHEVALIER.

Enclosure III.

GHARRATY,

The 29th October, 1768.

TO RICHARD BARWELL, ESQ., AT CALCUTTA.

Sir,

In consequence of your favor of the 17th current I will send you a banian to receive the amount of the Bill of Exchange drawn upon you and in the same time will transmit you the bill itself discharged. As for what regard the £5,000 sterling you propose more for bills I cannot for the present give you any satisfactory answer: it depends on knowing if the several gentlemen at Calcutta which are engaged to remit the money to our treasury for bills shall be able to do it or not. If they are, then we have not any more money to accept of.

In case it is convenient to you to receive my private bills upon Messrs. Sumner and Gregory payable in London on the same terms of our Company, then I will deliver one to you for the sum you have occasion for.

I am etc.,

CHEVALIER.

Enclosure IV.

BAULEAH.

The 31st December, 1768.

TO ROBERT GARDEN, ESQ., AT BUSSORAH.

Dear Garden,

I have received your letter of the 13th August and am obliged to you for the trouble you have taken to remit to Mr. Beaumont the sum of money lent to you at respondentia. The duplicate bill you forward be kind enough to direct to Mr. Beaumont at the Jerusalem Coffee House instead of Pall Mall.

I am with much sincerity etc.,

LETTER No. CXXIV.

BAULEAH,

The 31st December 1768.

TO THE REVEREND MR. WILLIAM HIRST, RICHARD'S COFFEE HOUSE,
TEMPLE BAR.

Dear Hirst,

I am obliged by your letters of the 26th January and 6th March 68, and for the books you sent to me by Lieutenant Hog. Your kindness affords me a subject the most pleasing my pen could be engaged by, but all I can write or say may be comprised in few words. The sense I entertain of every testimony of your regard is such as you could wish and of which a mind biassed by esteem is alone susceptible.

The anxiety you have expressed under apprehension of a Flemish account (as you stile it) of the things you sent me is, I hope, vanished as I long since received them, and if I have not, I should have acknowledged it and indeed I thought I had.

The pamphlet written by Hastings is an elegant performance far superior to any of the literary productions of the East Indians that I have perused.

I could not help smiling at your mode of introducing Blackiston to me and the notice you take of the great men of the East. Believe me Bengal may boast of its Zachary Fungus's as well as Germany, nor will it be more extraordinary to see your so in the hundred K..... statesmen and legislators than your commissarys—conspicuous proofs of the infamy of pride.

I take my leave of you for the present and beg my respects to be tendered to Mr. V[ansittart] and Mrs. Hirst, Mr. H.—

LETTER No. CXXV.

TO MESSRS. BOARDIEU & CHOLLET.

CASSIMBAZAR

9th January 1769.

[Of no interest].

LETTER No. CXXVI.

BAULEAH,

The 9th January 1769

TO HIS MOTHER

Dear and Honored Madam,

Exclusive of the dictates of duty, your very affectionate letters of the 27th July and 2nd August 1767 and 27th February 1768 excite me to make every acknowledgment gratitude and filial tenderness are capable of. Imagine here to yourself the tender overflowings of a heart sensible of all your kindness, and spare me a description I fear my pen would not do justice to.

Among the various scenes of tumult, intrigue and rapine I am as well situated as can be expected but still in hot water. I flatter myself, however, that my endeavors will at last be crowned with success, and that a few years will restore me to you, and, if then I am so fortunate as to get into the Direction, I shall be so much the happier as it will prove a means of advancing into life my dearest brothers. By the last advices I am joyed to find my Father so much better. I congratulate you, myself, and all on so happy a turn. His loss, apart from what each might feel through affection, would at this juncture prove the more severe, as there is not a son that can as yet step forth in point of fortune or abilities the guardian of his family. This subject is so interesting that I cannot prevail on myself to turn my thoughts to any other. Every other concern after so material a one appears so very trifling that the heart rejects it, and to dwell on this will possibly create you uneasiness by reminding you of what must be.

I am, my dear Parent etc..

LETTER No. CXXVII.

BAULEAH,

The 9th January, 1769.

TO EDWARD HARDWICKE, ESQ.

Dear Hardwicke,

Your good wishes of the 7th March presented to me by Mr. Darell was followed by the smiling bounties of the goddess Fortune. After two years

soured by disappointment, the change of my situation is most pleasing, and the more so, as my accepting the station I now hold was so little expected that it had been promised to another. You perceive age creeps upon me and that I write in a strain of dotage, for who but I, the little hero of my tale. How justly egotism is annexed to years I cannot determine. I own for my part that I reap a pleasure in communicating to my friends the little circumstances that variegates my life, flattering myself, if they are not much, they however are a little interested in my prosperity. What a sum of money have you ordered me to get ere I think of quitting India. I had flattered myself that with much less I might have been permitted to have crossed the water and intruded upon that puffy companion that molests you so, and in complaisance, I think Mr. Gout could do no less than be easy at such times. One ailment as the world runs ever taking place of the other, I sincerely wish I may soon have the pleasure of putting this to the test, for I much doubt the truth of the position.

You must exert your utmost influence to remove the bar which now obstructs the views of your friend Mr. Darell. The Presidency is not a place for any man to make a fortune at; any of the subordinate factories are to be preferred to the most lucrative employments at Calcutta; I mean such as gentlemen under Council are entitled to there. Therefore he must absolutely relinquish his Sub-Accomptant's post.

Mr. Maddison, etc, etc, are too sensible of what they owe to your kindness not to give you an account of themselves, and all the little family anecdotes they imagine may tend to amuse you. For my part I can only repeat the voice of the community which ushers in the name of Maddison with praise, and Darell is esteemed by all who know him.

India affairs and India itself is become a scene of contradictions. I wish the scribblers joy of it with all my heart, those pen champions of liberty and real spoilers of freedom!

God grant you better health, my Friend.

I am etc.,

LETTER No. CXXVIII.

BAULEAH,

The 9th January 1769.

TO MR. HENRY TOPHAM.

Dear Topham,

I am obliged by yours of the 12th November. The letter enclosed for Mr. Fairfax has been forwarded, but that said to be enclosed for Baber from his sister I did not receive.

My sentiments regarding the payment of the navy donation I am apprehensive will be found too just. I wish I had been mistaken for, believe me, I feel severely for your disappointment and for my friend Afflick.

I would recommend it to you to apply to Mr. Ralph Leycester for such information as you want to obtain of Mr. Tinker's effects in this part of the world with respect to the Rs. 28,000 which you imagine passed through me to Mr. Spencer. I can only reply that on referring to my books I found no trace of such a transaction, nor do I recollect any circumstance that leads to it. As I was to leave the Settlement soon after Mr. Tinker sailed for Europe, he appointed Leycester G. V. and I. G., I believe, his attorneys. I have wrote to Majendie to forward you the power of agency properly authenticated by a notary publick. But as neither myself nor Majendie are agents he has to seek for that power before he can send you an attested copy.

I send you a copy of all the papers with your attorneys.

When you see Captain Afflick remember me to him, and assure him I shall be happy in every opportunity of expressing my esteem for him, as I shall to you.

We go on in the old way and shall do I suppose till we have ploded away the golden views of the nation.

Adieu for the present.

I am etc.

LETTERS Nos. CXXIX—CXXXI.

Mr. William Majendie in account with Mr. Henry Topham.

Mr. H. Topham to Mr. W. Majendie.

Mr. H. Topham to Messrs. R. Barwell and W. Majendie in regard to his share of "the Nabobs' Donation" as purser of the *Medway*.

LETTER No. CXXXII.

January, 20th 1869.

TO HIS SISTER.

My Dear Sister,

I have been favored by your letters of the 15th April, 21st July, 31st October, 7th November, 1767, and one of the 4th of March 1768. After the acknowledgment of so many repeated instances of your kindness, you possibly suppose I had no reason for dissatisfaction. It is true that, now all your tokens of remembrance are ranged before me, I have not; but, as the disappointment of our wishes too strongly affect us to render us at all times

capable of reflection, I must confess that for an instance I have deemed you unkind, because a packet has been opened and no letter presented me from you. Such is the unreasonableness of friendship that the more it is indulged the more it craves. This confession which has escaped my pen I perceive must necessarily be attended with this remark—that I have expressed my own feelings and not been overmindful of yours, for, though reciprocal, love claims reciprocal attention. For two letters you send me I return you but one. What reply can I make to such a charge? My heart overflowing with affection tells me I am not guilty, whilst my memory upbraids me with the justness of the accusation. In this dilemma I appeal to yourself to judge the esteem I bear you and to justify that remissness I most condemn.

The letters you sent for Atkinson have been delivered to him. I am glad I have it in my power to acquaint you that the Governor & Co., have dropped their design of sending him to England, which I attribute in great measure to the obliging interposition of Mr. Becher. This merits, in my opinion, a letter just noticing your being informed of such an act of kindness and requesting the continuance of his patronage to Atkinson: it cannot have a bad effect and may produce good.

With respect to Miss Atkinson's voyage to India, I have promoted it as an object I thought you had at heart, for, believe me, she will find it more eligible to prefer a decent situation in England to that she might enjoy in India. It is true that Hymen's fane is as much frequented here as usual, but his votaries are not so loaded with peace offerings of gold and silver.

I now beg permission to return to myself. In your letter of the 15th of April, you have requested, with the pleasing earnestness of friendship, some account of my affairs, and what I should like to have, and in what method you should proceed, I supposing you had power to forward my interest. How can I point out the mode, which must depend entirely on circumstances and the disposition of those it might be necessary to address? I can only say I would spend five thousand pounds to secure to myself the chiefship of Dacca, and to supervise the collection of the revenues of that province and which is not at present annexed to the chiefship. I would spend the same sum to procure to myself the Patna chiefship and collection of the revenues. These stations might be procured me without the exertion of that influence which is absolutely requisite to lift me above those gentlemen who superseded me from Madras, but if the latter could be done I should prefer it, as my rank in Council, I do suppose, might with greater propriety countenance my being advanced to either of those stations I have just now noticed. For such a promotion and a proper support in England, I would not scruple to lay out ten thousand pounds; and if it can be effected, you may speak to Mr. Beaumont, whom I by this letter, request to engage himself to draw upon me for the sum, for

I have not money in England—otherwise this expedient would not be necessary.

By the common course of succession, I shall, in all probability, be in Council by January 1770, and should those gentlemen (the factors who superseded me in 1760) be set aside, it may not be three months before I am taken into Council. In every station I have hitherto filled I have acquitted myself with reputation. The gentlemen in India in many of their letters to Europe have publicly testified their approbation of my conduct; the Court of Directors, for these three years past, have strongly recommended that my services be considered, and that, as far as is consistent, I be promoted; but words are the only rewards I have as yet received. However, those might be made subservient to my advancement, if I had that friend in the Direction who had power as well as ability to assist me, and if you raise up to me such a friend, I shall be much indebted to you.

I am, My Dear Sister,
Your Most Afft. Brother

LETTER No. CXXXIII.

CALCUTTA,
October 3, 1769.

TO A. BEAUMONT, ESQ.

[Of no interest]

LETTER No. CXXXIV.

The 4th October 1769

TO HIS FATHER.

Honored and Dear Sir,

By the ships now arrived you have favored me with two letters, one dated the 30th October 1768 and the other without date per *Lord Holland* which ship left England in February 1769.

As my brother Roger (who has been induced to take a trip to Europe by ill health and disappointments) is capable of giving you information of many particulars, and ought not to be ignorant of any transactions previous to his quitting India, I will not trouble you with a recital of any occurrences but such as are subsequent to his departure.

The misunderstanding between Mr. Aldersey and me has influenced me to quit the Cossimbazar factory, and you will find from the publick records the

reflections which the conduct of my predecessors have drawn upon them. I assure you I think myself very happy that I relinquished in my station at Bauleah those advantages termed emoluments of office which not being defensible I feel a real pleasure in the exception the Governor has made in his representation to the Board of my conduct in office to that of others. I enclose an extract from the Consultations on which his letter on this subject is entered.

A selection of the servants is talked of to fill the vacancies at the Board, and I have been given to understand that the honor of counsellor is to be conferred on me in preference to those gentlemen who superseded me in 1760. Should this be the case I shall not have much reason to complain of the objection made to those gentlemen, my seniors in the service, an objection that introduced the four gentlemen from Madras to this Presidency, but should it not take place I must say I have been greatly injured. The exception to those gentlemen who are my seniors has been the cause of my being superseded by the four gentlemen from Madras. If that exception is now overruled, and Messrs Reid, Hare, etc. are chosen members of the Council before me, I am then doubly superseded. How it will be determined a month more will clear up, till then I must doubt the intentions of those who have so often disappointed expectations they themselves have given me reason to entertain. However, in justice the servants of the year 1758 are properly senior to those of 1760, and thus in fact I am senior to those who appear to be my seniors. The longest course of service is certainly the real test of seniority. I mention this, as I do suppose it will be a foundation for the strongest arguments in support of the measure whenever it is executed.

A system has been proposed for collecting the revenues of these provinces and universally approved when proposed.* Since that the gentlemen of Council seem very indifferent to the carrying of it into execution His Excellency the Nabob has wrote publickly to have the scheme postponed, and God knows whether private considerations may not supersede the publick good. The Company's possessions whilst the present mode of collecting the revenues is continued, appear to me precarious: all the revenues is anticipated for the payment of the army and for the provision of the Company's investment. Should then an enemy invade the country the zemindars will naturally withhold their rents, and if Mahomed Raza Cawn on whom the officers of Government are entirely dependent, carries on any private intrigues, how easily can he influence a total stop to the collections. What then is to support the army? In such exigency the sending up Europeans to make the collections will be of little consequence. Three months must

* Barwell is referring to the system of Supervisors.

elapse before the collections can be put upon any tolerable footing; in the interim the soldiers must live upon air or desert to the enemy.

As I have postponed writing to the last moment you must excuse the abruptness of this scrawl.

My account I have received and shall be obliged if you yourself will make up my bond and draw upon me for whatever is due thereon.

My hearty prayers request health to you and to the satisfaction of receiving in person your benedictions. My duty I tender through you to my dear mother and affection to my brothers and sisters.

I am etc.,

LETTER No. CXXXV.

4th October, 1769.

TO RALPH LEYCESTER, ESQ.

My Dear Friend,

I esteem myself very much indebted to you for your obliging letters of the 4th October 1768, and 15th January 1769, and, as I wish for a continuance of your esteem, I need not enlarge on the pleasure I reap from the assurances you have given me of your fixed attachment. It is sufficient that you are convinced of my regard, and indulge me with a reciprocal return. I rejoice with you on the increase of your family, and every domestick and parental happiness you enjoy. Mrs. L.—I am informed has her health perfectly well. I heartily wish her and you a continuance of that chief blessing in life.

As you are desirous to know of the state of the revenue and treasury, the intelligence you have received by the ships of last year I confirm. The system of collecting was bad from the first. The Company are at last convinced of it, and Verelst has acknowledged it with the best grace possible. Supervisors are appointed to all the districts. A plan has been laid down by V—and approved by the Board, but His Excellency M. R. Caun, not liking the new system, has put off the evil day. The Council are grown cool, and when it will be executed is to me a secret. I hope, however, private considerations will not explode a measure absolutely necessary for the welfare of the country and of the Company. The first is in a degree ruined by exactions, and the second may for want of revenue [unable] to pay the troops. The military charges and investment anticipate the revenue. The Zemindars, on the least appearance of troubles, are ever ready to withhold their rents, and, being entirely dependent on M. R. Caun. If that man carries on any intrigues, how easily can he prevent a rupee coming into the publick treasury. In this exigency of affairs, gentlemen must be sent up, but then

may it not be too late? Will not three months atleast elapse before the necessity of the measure is perceived, and the gentlemen enabled to put the country into tolerable order, and remit any considerable revenue? If so, in the mean time, how must the soldiers live—the treasury empty and no money coming in from the country for three months?

A selection of servants is talked of to fill the Council Board. I shall have no reason to complain if I am chosen, but if the appointments give Reed, Hare, etc., a preference to me, I think I have great reason to complain. The objections to those gentlemen occasioned the appointment of the four gentlemen from Madras, if that objection is overruled I am doubly superseded, but, if I have a preference to which I am entitled by length of service—the real test of seniority—I then remain only superseded in the manner the whole body of servants have been. I do not wish for any selection, but I think in justice the servants of the years 1758 and 1759 have a right superior to Reed, etc., who are servants of the year 1760. I shall write you by the next ship more fully. In the mean time I must beg you to remember me to Charlton and apologize for my laziness in not writing by this conveyance. Adieu.

LETTER No. CXXXVI.

CALCUTTA,

The 5th October 1769

TO RICHARD BARWELL, ESQ.

Honored and Dear Sir,

Your favor of the 24th September 1768 reached me last July. Agreeably to your commands I shall apply to the Governor and Council for bills to the amount of my bond made up with interest for the proceeds of your coral. You observe that I did not send to you my bond. What end, my dear Uncle, would it have answered to send you my bond payable in India? The usage here in such case is to make out a bond and lodge it with any friend on behalf of the lender, and when the lender requires payment, to take up the bond so lodged and remit the amount conformably to his orders. Enquire of any gentleman who has resided here in Bengall, and they will give you the same information.

By the next ship I flatter myself the Company will be pleased to grant bills. At present the gentlemen are not inclined to give drafts, and, indeed, unless the exchange is made more advantageous to the remitter the rate, it has been fixed, amounts to an exclusion. Two shillings for a rupee is so very low, that, unless I had your positive orders, I would have waited for a better opportunity.

The father-in-law of John Harris deceased (Captain Swallow) took charge of his effects. Nothing belonging to that estate was ever under my charge. I am therefore a little surprised at your question "what is become of the property of John Harris under your care" as if I had been the administrator or executor to the deceased—a mistaken notion which I must suppose you entertained from the notice I took of that gentleman at your request and recommendation. The diamond trade here is confined, and as the gentlemen in station engross the whole for the remittance of their own fortunes, no purchases but to a very trifling amount can be made by any of the merchants.

I am glad to hear from some of my friends that you enjoy your health. If my wishes can insure to you a continuance of it, neither gout nor any other disease will trouble you. My duty and love await you and I am etc.,

LETTER No. CXXXVII.

CALCUTTA

The 24th December, 1769.

TO RALPH LEYCESTER, ESQ.

My dear Leicester.

Your letter of the 16th March 1769 like other friendly tests of your remembrance gave me a most sensible satisfaction. I have not another correspondent I wish to hear from oftener or whose letters I peruse with a more heartfelt pleasure. You may imagine then I have no small interest in commending myself to your esteem when I am to reap sweets so very agreeable to my taste; and was I to say necessary to my happy existence in this burning clime, I should not speak very hyperbolically, because I have a real sincere regard, for you, and should feel a dissatisfaction and regret, was accident or human caprice to deprive me of your esteem. It is vain to dwell on a subject inexhaustible. I will talk then a little like the folks of this world. Upon Verelst's departure, which will be on Wednesday next, I am to have the honor to fill his vacant seat in Council. I wish to God I may have honor sufficient never to swerve from those principles which should ever direct the sentiments of men in publick station to advance the publick interests and to secure possessions which by anticipations of the revenues I must deem precarious. Should a bold enemy dare to invade, and but for a small space of time elude our efforts to bring him to an engagement, judge yourself from the following state. An universal scarcity of grain, the want of rain in the months of August, September and October so entirely destroyed the November crop that of all the paddy sowed not a single grain came to perfection, and not above two thirds of the paddy in the August crop. All the western districts of Bengall and Behar

are in a terrible condition, and in most places rice sells at the rates of 8 and 12 seers per rupee. Our treasury is without a rupee. The arrears to the Civil List about three lacs and arrears of three months pay to at least 15 battalions of our seapoys. To defray this anticipation of the revenues the remittances formerly made to China is stopped. This expedient, in my humble opinion, must be extremely inadequate to the end purposed, for the revenues of this year, when the husbandman has been ruined by the badness of the season, must necessarily dwindle, and this decrease of revenue I do suppose will be at least 60 lacs. Therefore besides the deficiency to the Army and Civil List, provision must be made for this accidental decrease of 60 lacs. How to do this effectually, the only means I can perceive is to put a stop to the advances on the Company's investment and run in arrears to his Majesty (Shah Allum) or take 20 lacs from his Excellency's allowance of 40 as a loan to the Company. There are no other resources, the military charges, charges collections and Civil List swallow up the residue of the Company's income.

I should be much obliged to you, my Friend, if you would speak to Mr. Vansittart and Mr. Sullivan about getting me restored to my rank in the service. I am a servant of the year 1758, consequently senior to the gentlemen of 1760. The Company in many of their letters have done me credit by the manner in which they have mentioned my name, and in one of their last have gone so far as to particularly recommend me for promotion as far as was consistent with their service. Now at the time this para was wrote, if I had had a friend in the Direction, that would have recollected the supersession in 1760, and I should assuredly have obtained my rank. My conduct in the service will, however, still serve as an argument if Mr. Sullivan and Mr. Vansittart or either of them are pleased to confer upon me so lasting an obligation as I shall deem the obtainment of my rank. I will not say more. I trust in your friendship to do me this most essential piece of service. My sincere and hearty wishes wait you. Pay my respects to Mrs. Leycester and give my little acquaintance, Ralph, a kiss.

I am etc.,

P.S.—I send you a pipe of Madeira by Captain Clements: I expect one bumper to be drunk to my health.

P.S.—The Cossimbazar investment has afforded Verelst an opportunity to expatiate on the rapacity of the Company's servants of the lower class. I wish for the sake of the Service that the frauds pointed out at Bauleah had not been noticed, but measures taken to prevent such mismanagement in future. However as things are as they are, I told Mr. Verelst it was necessary he should add to the letter he had written on the subject what he thought in justice due to me, that I could not permit the remarks that had been made to be sent to Europe, for my name not being mentioned and it being known

not only to the Direction but my friends that I was the last Resident, every one would imagine I was censured by those remarks equally with the gentlemen that had given cause for them. At last his Honour was pleased to give the enclosed attestation in a minute in addition to his letter about the Bauleah frauds which shew Mr. Van[sittart] and Sullivan. R. B.

Extract from Fort William Consultation the 19th June 1769.

The President likewise begs leave to remark that in justice to Mr. Richard Barwell he must acquaint the Board that during his Residency at Bauleah a regular account has been given of the quantity of silk of the Company's assortments allowed for at the time of sale, and that it was from Mr. Barwell's representations he received the first information of some of those oppressions, and the outstanding balances of the factory of Bauleah have been considerably reduced under Mr. Barwell's management. A true extract.

Sd/-Edward Baber, *Secretary.*

LETTER No. CXXXVIII.

CALCUTTA,

The 24th December 1769

TO MR. JAMES BARWELL.

Dear James,

I have received your several letters with the newspapers, pamphlets and plays. These little tokens of remembrance give me a more sensible pleasure than all the labored letters filled with professions of regard that you could possibly have written to me. I think I must have been often in your mind, as all these little papers you have sent must have been picked up at several times. I hope you will continue to think I merit your warmest affection and that I glow with an equal esteem. I am not fond of making a show of my love, but remain convinced, my dear Brother, that I have a heart good and sincere and ever ready to receive the impressions of your attachment. As Roger is by this time with you any circumstances that have an immediate relative to self I must suppose you are fully informed of. I am grieved at what my Father writes me about the ship I hoped you was to command. I so little expected the bad news that I was struck with surprise on reading his letters. Unless my Father was certain of his being able to introduce a ship into the service he ought not to have wrote me in the manner he did, for I cannot but think it exposes me in a light I do not wish to appear in to those gentlemen who have been so kind as to be your owners. Farewell, dear James, I am etc.,

LETTER No. CXXXIX.

CALCUTTA,

The 24th December 1769

TO EDWARD HARDWICK, ESQ.

Dear Hardwick:

I am much obliged by your friendly epistle of the 7th March 1769. As we are all liable to disappointment in our pursuits in this as in any other clime, I had long since reconciled to myself the unkindness of those I thought my friends. Political connections have been the bane of numbers, and I can now plainly see my removal from Malda was made a point by Mr. Sykes, and that to his views of profit and resentment I was sacrificed. The injury is long past; yet I cannot reflect on it without some degree of emotion and sentiments unfavourable to that gentleman's character for honesty and benevolence. By this conveyance Mr. Verelst goes for England. A long residence in Bengall and the adulation men in so elevated a station as that he filled are accustomed to; I apprehend, have spoiled him, but you, who are on the spot, will be able to judge whether he is or is not mortified by the level to which he must sink, unless he is pleased to render himself ridiculous and despicable by assuming to himself a degree of consequence no independant gentleman will allow him.

I feel much for the effects of that violent disorder which afflicts you; its regular increase makes me apprehensive it may shorten a life that is dear to me; for when my fortune leads me to England I shall lose one of the pleasures I purpose to myself if I do not find you amongst the rest of my friends. I intend to follow your advice and not quit this country, until I can take with me a sum equal to answer the purposes you mention. This I hope I may be able to effect in four or five years. I take my seat in Council on the departure of Mr. Verelst; and, if I had my proper rank, I should be 8th in Council; whereas I am now the last; a very essential difference to me. At present I stand no chance of a subordinate, and in the other case I should almost immediately obtain one. Mr. Becher goes for Europe in November next and Mr. Kelsall probably will likewise depart. I do not know whether you have any interest with a particular or a number of the Directors, but, if it is in your power to serve me, I flatter myself your friendship will lead you to solicit for my advancement. The gentlemen who are above me are Messrs. Reid, Jekyll, Hare, and Lane. They are servants of the year 1760, whereas I am a servant of the year 1758. In consequence of objections to these gentlemen Messrs. Russell, Aldersey, Kelsall and Floyer superseded me from the Coast. No objection was ever made to me, so far from it that at the very time the Directors approved of the translation from Madras they

particularly recommended me for promotion as far as was consistent with their service. If at this juncture I had had a friend in the Direction that would have recollected the supersession in 1760 it is very probable I might have obtained my rank. At present I stand doubly superseded—superseded by the gentlemen from Fort St. George and superseded by those who occasioned that supersession, or more properly speaking, by those who afforded Lord Clive a pretext for that supersession. By the course of the service, seniority in general fixes the stations of the several servants of the Company in India, as I must define the meaning of the sentence "to rise in the service by seniority" to be "to rise agreeably to the length of the term of our service," I certainly am entitled to be superior in rank to those gentlemen of 1760, because I am senior to them. Some gentlemen will possibly say I have no reason to complain, because I superseded the gentlemen of the fleet of 1758, in answer to which I must remark that at the time I petitioned to go to Bengall in the Company's service, my Father exposed the interests of Mr. Sullivan and that at the time the appointment of Writers came on I wanted 8 days to be of age. Mr. Payne from party pique made the observation, and in consequence my nomination was postponed till those 8 days elapsed. By this means instead of being first upon the list which I should have been if nominated with the other gentlemen, I became last on the list of Writers of 1758. When Mr. Sullivan came to the chair, in consideration of my having suffered by party prejudice he placed me next to Barton where I should have been but for Mr. Payne's observation and the postponing to nominate me in consequence. Mr. Sullivan knows the truth.

The character I have always supported in the service, the many testimonies given by the Company in their general letters of their approbation of my conduct, may be urged in my favor, and I believe you will not think I ask anything unreasonable in requesting to be restored to my rank. If I have merited anything from my employers, surely it is not improper to expect they will at least let me rise to station agreeably to the rules of their service rules they themselves have made and to which they generally adhere.

Excuse my prolixity on a subject I am so very much interested in, and let me beg of you to consider me if it is in your power to serve me, and if you can condescend to ask so great a favor for a friend.

As I know you love Madeira I beg your acceptance of a pipe. It goes by Captain Rous of the *Brittania*. Beaumont will inform you when it arrives, and you have only to clear it from the quay.

I wish you better health and am etc.,

LETTER No. CXL

CALCUTTA,

The 24th December 1769.

TO RICHARD BARWELL, ESQ.

Honored and Dear Sir,

I have already wrote you by the ships of the last season. I now enclose you the Secretary's answer to my application for a remittance of the produce of your coral. The exchange is so very low that I believe you will approve of my not sending you bills on the terms offered, *via.* two shillings per current rupee, more especially as you are sure of a remittance in November next @ 2 shillings and 2 pence half penny. The term of payment is somewhat long, but as no interest is lost it is both certain and beneficial. The Company's advertisement for receiving moneys for bills is under this cover and which will inform you of all particulars. Believe me, nothing but the consideration of your interest has induced me to postpone the remittance of your money, it being equally indifferent to me whether I paid it into the Company's cash for bonds or bills of exchange. At present you have Company's notes for your money, and in the month of November next will have the bills.

I am always wishing to receive a few lines from you by every ship, as my love for you makes me anxious for your welfare, but instead of indulging me so much, my dear Uncle, you give me but one short letter in the year. If it is not impertinent permit me to influence you by the regard you bear me to forget the little differences which accident and the intrigues of designing people have created between my Father and you, my second parent. I love and honor both: I cannot then but feel for the ill blood that has been occasioned between you. I reflect and see union as an emblem of strength and happiness; division as that of weakness and discord. Forgive me if I have been too bold and be assured no one's prayers are more sincere than when I desire for your happiness and length of years, I am etc.,

FORT WILLIAM

*The 29th November 1769**Enclosures.*

TO MR. RICHARD BARWELL.

Sir,

In answer to your letter I am to acquaint you that no particular indulgences are allowed to those who remit the returns of coral, and that the present exchange is two shillings the current rupee.

I am etc.,

EDWARD BABER, *Secretary.*

All monies tendered into the Company's treasury from this day to the 1st day of November 1770 and it [be at] the option of the proprietor either grant interest notes payable in one year or engage to give receipts for such sums as are paid in for bills to be granted by the 1st ship to be dispatched after the 22nd November 1770 which receipts are to bear an interest at the rate of 8 per cent until the bills are granted.*

That three sets of bills will be drawn, each set for one third of the sum paid in, the first set to become payable at three hundred and sixty five days sight, the second set at seven hundred and thirty days sight and the third set at one thousand and ninety days sight; these bills to bear an interest at the rate of 3 per cent. per annum from ninety days sight to the day of payment. The exchange to be at two shillings and three pence the current rupee to Company's servants civil and military, and two shillings and two pence half-penny to free merchants and all others.

LETTER No. CXLI.

CALCUTTA,

The 25th December 1769.

TO WILLIAM BARWELL, ESQ.

Honored and Dear Sir,

I have already paid my duty to you by the ships of this season, but led on by the evil spirit of procrastination the morrow scarce leaves me time to express the warmth of filial sentiment which binds me to you in the strongest ties of affection. It is with difficulty (I blush whilst I own it) that I prevail on myself to set down to write; and yet when I am once set down, no man can reap a more sensible pleasure than I do in addressing my friends, my Father my best and dearest Friend.

I mentioned that there was likely to be a contest in filling the vacant seats at the Board; that the Governor was for selecting and others for seniority. The majority being for succession by seniority, the Governor's system of advancing by selection has been overruled; this has mortified him not a little, and your son instead of coming in 8th in Council comes in the last. I shall take my seat on the departure of this ship when Mr. Verelst quits India. The supersession in 1760 is a very severe stroke upon me, more especially as those gentlemen who then superseded me, gave Lord Clive a pretext by objecting to them to call the four gentlemen from Madras. Nothing was ever

* Copy defective.

urged to my prejudice, my character has been ever respected, and my conduct repeatedly approved of even at the very time the Court of Directors gave a sanction to Lord Clive's measures and condemned Messrs. Reid, Hare, Jekyll and Lane amongst others for the reasons Lord Clive alleged for setting them aside. They at that very time particularly recommended me for promotion, in words not less strong than these "and we recommend it to you to promote Mr. Barwell as far as is consistent with our service." Surely at the time if a friend in the Direction could have remembered I was superseded in 1760 I might have obtained my rank. I ask only for what the custom of the service gives me some right to expect. I do not want to supersede, satisfied not to be superseded. Is it not then very mortifying to suffer for the blunders and follies of others, and instead of promotion, to stand superseded by the gentlemen of Fort St. George and the four gentlemen factors of 1760? These gentlemen are now my superiors on the plea of seniority. Surely if there is any meaning annexed to this word we cannot define it otherways than a preference given to servants from the length of their term of service. Now I am a servant of the year 1758, have always served with fidelity, and honourable mention has frequently been made of my services by the Company, and as my character and conduct still stand unimpeached I cannot but think if you would deign to ask a favor for your son or demand it as his right, you might get me re-established in my rank that is put above the factors of 1760. But I fear it is vain for me to urge this so essential a point to myself to a parent whose age and infirmities (and was I to say a natural apathy I possibly should not err) make him in some degree too easy to give up the interests of his children. Let me, however, beg of you to consider that I am now at that period of life and station in the Company's service when a little assistance to obtain me my rights will possibly throw into my hands the means of acquiring a very handsome independence and being after you a father to the family. The golden days are passing swiftly on. Forgive me then whilst I exhort you to bestir yourself and to exert all the little influence you have. My brothers will be doubly considered in this stretch of kindness to me, for you will give them, by obtaining what I ask, a support which I am convinced they will stand in need of. I do not mince the matter, but speak my sentiments because I think it is absolutely necessary to probe to the very bottom. Pardon the liberty I have taken, if you cannot approve of it; though I flatter myself every principle of generosity and candor will rather excite you to be pleased with me for this stimulus to your affections which I hope will induce you to shew your love in actions. I have mentioned in my letter to you by Mr. Rumbold what I suppose the views of that gentleman, and as I do suppose he will be strongly supported and may possibly come out Governor, a close connection with him

may prove extremely beneficial. He carries home a large fortune—I believe, between two and three hundred thousands—and is determined to expend a part to accomplish what he has in view. This will account to you for the letter which he will deliver, and at the same time put you on your guard to cultivate his acquaintance; but, as I am not a judge of the reigning interests in Leadenhall Street, you must make allowances if I have requested anything improper in that letter.

I cannot get at the Export and Import Ware House Keepers books, or I would have sent you the price current of the Company's imports and exports. When I have taken my seat in Council, my station will entitle me to call for and inspect these books. Therefore in the course of this season you may expect the price current you have desired me to send.

I have wrote to my Uncle by these ships, and presumed to touch upon the unhappy differences that subsisted betwixt you. If it has the wished-for effect, concord and happiness will take the place of diffidence and discord. I most heartily pray for the sake of each, as well as the general interests of the families, that past inadvertencies and little accidental causes for disgust, heightened possibly by designing people, may be forgotten—at least that they may never be mentioned, otherwise a reconciliation, I fear, cannot prove of long duration, for the least notice once taken of the past will undoubtedly embitter the present.

The great riches expected from Bengall has been sunk in the Coast War; and the revenue so far anticipated to support that war that both time and address are necessary to extricate us from the difficulties with which we have to struggle. Exclusive of 3 lacks arrears to the Civil List three months' pay is due to atleast 15 battalions of our seapoys. To heighten this distress the little rain we have had in the year has destroyed the hopes of the husbandman, and a general scarcity of rice is felt throughout the provinces. This will naturally occasion a decrease in the revenue, and this decrease, I calculate, may be sixty lacks of rupees. To apply a remedy to the evil a stop is put to the remittances to China. This is a saving of 25 lacks. It is further determined by the Council to accept all monies that shall be offered for bills of exchange betwixt this and November next to pay off not a single bond and not to accept any Company's note in payment of any demand the Company may have on any individual. This may possibly raise 20 lacks more; the rest must be so much from the investment, that is, the 60 lacks usually advanced for the investment. At present the Company is in the utmost distress for money for the necessary expence civil and military.

A bold daring enemy invading us at this juncture and eluding an engagement would, indeed, prove a misfortune. We should then have the army to pay and not the means of doing in our hands, for the zemindars

would certainly withhold their rents till compelled to pay. All political transactions are kept so close that there is scarcely a possibility of discovering the truth, but if public intelligence may be credited, Hyder Ally is preparing himself for another war in the Carnatic. It is said he has entered into treaty with the Nizam and Marattoe, and that he is securing himself from any attacks of the Black Powers. If this is really true, it is a plain indication of his intentions to attack us, when he can do it with advantage, and with a probability of carrying his point. The French possibly instigate him, and he, it is likely, waits to take the benefit of their assistance or to assist them in case of a war and reduce the English power. We are looked upon with jealousy by all the Eastern Princes, and, considering how we are situated as to the Black Powers, it is no wonder that we have no external resources. All will readily combine against us. We must, therefore, act entirely from ourselves, repel encroachments upon us with the means we have, and look for no support in the time of trial, but in our own strength and Providence. It behoves then the Company to increase that strength as much as possible to give permanence to their possessions. The European force at present on this Establishment is very inadequate to the service; the brigades are not half complete as to privates, though complete as to officers. The seapoys are on a good footing, but their fidelity is to be dreaded.

I believe an appointment of a Resident to the Court of Soja-ul-Dowla will shortly take place. It is deemed necessary to keep that Prince, if possible, in good humour; likewise to engage his neighbours in a defensive treaty the dread of which should we have to repel an invader in Bengall, will probably detain him in his own country, however much he might be inclined to attack us at that juncture. Such an appointment will, I believe, be approved of at home, as it will answer many good ends and cannot be attended with any bad, unless a person sent be a downright fool or an absolute knave. General Smith who went home on the *Hampshire*, Captain Smith, is estimated worth between two and three hundred thousand pounds. See what station can do! See Mr. Rumbold to obtain me my rank, and you give me a subordinate and then you will shortly hear what I can effect. Mr. Becher after a pretty hard struggle is continued at the Durbar; he purposes to resign that station sometime in November 1770 and to proceed to Europe by the December or January ship. Mr. Kelsall likewise resigns the service about that time, and Mr. Cartier, our Governor, had declared his intention of returning to Europe at the same period. I now take my leave and request a tender of my duty and affection to my dear Mother and love to all praying for your health and length of years, I remain etc.

LETTER No. CXLII.

CALCUTTA,

The 24th December 1769.

TO MR. WILLIAM HIRST.

Dear Hirst,

I will make the best return I can to your friendly letter of the 14th November 1768. The sin of procrastination, which you complain of, is doubtless a most extensive sin; it reaches from the West to the East for it affects even your friend in Bengall. The statement of our account and the catalogue of books I have looked over, and I have just received information that the vessel on which our friend Colonel Champion put the box for me is arrived. The reason of its not reaching me sooner is the vessel's having lost her passage and put into Chittagong. I think myself under very great obligations to you for your kind remembrance of me. I have not the least doubt of finding both entertainment and instruction from the perusal of the books you have sent. I only miss Mrs. McAuly's History of England, the two first volumes of which you favored me with long since of. The bookseller remembers the binding. Get the other volumes bound like those; do not, however, forget to send the remaining volumes, be they cased how they may.

I am glad to find your friend (Mr. Vansittart) and mine (for I wish him to be so) has carried his point in the last struggle for the East India Directorship, and that he has brought in so many of his friends. I wish heartily [that] an end was put to those contests which have so much prejudiced the affairs of the Company, and that each party, if it is possible, was satisfied; but I fear whilst ambition, resentment and interest sway the breast of man, so long the spirit of contention will reign. I am determined, therefore, not to trouble myself about the views of others, but live contented and as peaceably as I may be permitted. I beg you to present my respects to Mr. Van[sittart], and to accept half a pipe of Madeira which I have consigned to Beaumont who has my instructions to deliver it to you. It will be attended with no other expence to you than just the charge of clearing it from the quay. I thought you had become more of an Indian, or I should never have sent you the Otta which you tell me is like the salt that had lost its savor. The Calliper compasses gave me the bottle on paper pretty exact: to which I must observe that, small as it was, it cost no less a sum than 90 rupees (eleven pounds sterling). But I promise to forgive all the ill-natured things you have said (the above relative to the Otta and something relative to my having lost Lowth's grammar, if you might form your opinion from my letter), if you will only approve the wine and drink one good bumper to my health.

I will not trouble you with any of the talk of this place, how we expect Mr. Van[sittart], and a thousand alterations in the Government. I know you

would deem it all stuff of nonsense. Hancock has his health tolerably ; Mr. Hastings is arrived, and I hear well. If changes take place here, I hope he will once more reside amongst us. Remember me to Mrs. Champion when you see her, and do not forget my compliments to Mrs. Hancock.

Your very affectionate friend.

LETTER No. CXLIII.

CALCUTTA.

The 25th December 1769

TO HENRY VANSITTART, ESQ.

Dear Sir,

I had the pleasure to address you by the ships of last season and continue to pay my respects in acknowledgment for the kindness I experienced in the latter part of your Government. It is with satisfaction I acknowledge the obligations you conferred upon me by the appointment of Accountant to the Committee of Restitution and the admission of my application to the Maulda Residency,—favors which I must ever remember and make mention of with gratitude. I congratulate you on the success you commanded in the late contest for the Directorship, and heartily wish it may enable you to accomplish those views which have led you to engage in so disagreeable a scene of contention. There is likewise something selfish in the pleasure I experience on this occasion. I flatter myself with your patronage to a request I have to prefer, it is to restore me to my rank. Your kindness encouraged me to hope I may obtain your influence to support the justness of my pretensions. Seniority has long been a rule of service, and few instances only can be mentioned of Company's servants rising to station by any other claim to a preference. As this is the case I am rather unfortunate who am a servant of the year 1758 to hold an inferior rank to servants of the year 1760, (Messrs. Hare, Reid, Jekyll) ; more especially as my conduct has ever been approved, and my character respected. Instances I can mention, but it is needless, as the several general letters to this Presidency have doubtless been perused by you. It suffices to say then the Company have often done me honor by the manner in which they have noticed my services ; and more particularly, when they approved of the translation of the four gentlemen from Madras to Bengall after admitting the objections made by Lord Clive to the gentlemen of 1760, they expressed themselves about me in terms not less strong than these "and we recommend Mr. Barwell to you for promotion as far as is consistent with our service." If I had had a friend in the Direction at that time who would have remembered the supersession in 1760, I might have been restored to my rank. But instead

of promotion I now stand doubly superseded—superseded by the gentlemen from Madras and superseded by Messrs. Hare etc. These gentlemen afforded Lord Clive a pretext for the measure which gave to this Establishment Messrs. Russell, Aldersey, Kelsall and Floyer. All I ask and wish for is the obtainment of my rank, and as the longest course of service, I believe, will be admitted the certain test of seniority, my claim founded thereon, I will presume to request you to support and urge in my favor. The kind opinion my employers have entertained of me may be pleaded in my behalf, and whatever little merit the Directors shall be pleased to allow me, made conducive to redress the injustice of my remaining superseded by the gentlemen of 1760. I am so much concerned in the obtainment of what is mentioned that your goodness must excuse my prolixity and permit my endeavours to interest you in this so essential a point to myself to prevail. I am convinced, if you will be kind enough to take me by the hand and mention the thing to Mr. Sullivan with any degree of warmth, then my expectations will be fully answered, and a greater obligation added to those I have already received from you.

I have taken the liberty to send a pipe of Madeira by Captain Rous which Messrs. Leycester and Beaumont, my attorneys, will present to you. I wish it may prove worthy of your acceptance.

As the situation of affairs here and at Madras have been communicated to you by abler pens I shall not employ mine in the description. We all expect you to rule us, and some wish it, wherever you may be or whatever may be your pursuits. May health and content await you.

LETTER No. CXLIV.

CALCUTTA,

The 27th December 1769

TO RALPH LEYCESTER AND ANSELM BEAUMONT, ESQS.

Gentlemen,

I sent by the *Hampshire* Captain Smith the 1st bill of exchange on John Burdett, Esq. for £4,054-9-2. The 2nd bill I now enclose with a bill of exchange on the French Company for £5,000. This Bill on the French Company I would have negotiated on its arrival, let the discount prove what it may, for I would rather abide by the first loss than stand to the risk of receiving it from the French when it becomes due. I have sent consigned to you by the *Royal Charlotte* two pipes of Madeira and by the *Brittania* Captain Rous 4 pipes of Madeira, in all six pipes, which you will be pleased to dispose of as follows:—1 pipe to Ralph Leycester, Esq., 1 pipe to Anselm Beaumont, Esq., 1 pipe to Henry Vansittart, Esq., 1 pipe to the Revd. Mr. William Hirst, half a pipe to

Richard Barwell, Esq., in Bread Street to be presented with my compliments in a note from either of you gentlemen; the remaining two pipes to be kept until my further orders. The expences of clearing the wine from the quay to be defrayed by the several gentlemen. No receipts are given for the wine as it is carried home on the Captain's privilege. You will therefore apply to Captain Clements of the *Charlotte* on his arrival and likewise to Captain Rous of the *Brittania* when that ship shall arrive.

It will give me great pleasure to receive an account of the produce of those adventures which I have troubled you with. I have been apprehensive lest they fall short of my expectations and you not have it in your power to answer my drafts of the last year. I hope, however, your regard for me influenced you not to suffer my bills to be protested, and that some means were found to save my credit. I must here return my thanks to my friend, Leycester, for his kind loan of £4,000 which Mr. Beaumont informs me he advanced towards the discharge of my draft in favor of Mr. Moore, his executors and administrators. The remittances which I have now effected remove all difficulties. I have drawn on you by these ships the following bills:—

1 sett in favor of Alexander Campbell, Esq., dated the 26th December 1769 being the second year's interest due 1st January 1770 amounting to £360 on my bond to that gentleman dated 1768 January 1st for principal £5,000.

1 sett in favor of Miss Mary Barwell for £100 dated 26th December 1769. Exclusive of these two setts of bills I drew on you gentlemen another sett for £360 in favor of Mr. Campbell dated 4th October 1769. Of this I sent advice to Mr. Beaumont; it is the amount of the 1st year's interest on my note to Mr. Campbell dated 1st January 1768. The drafts then given in the course of this year stand thus:—

1 sett to	Alexander Campbell	4th October '69	for	£360	@	90 day	
1 Do		Do	26th December '69	360		Do	
1 Do	Miss Mary Barwell	26th December '69		100		Do	
3 Setts of Bills			amounting to	820			

By the ships of next year I purpose you a further remittance of £5,000, and in the course of the same year may draw on you for £6,500. I give you this advice, as the bills will be at 90 days, and £1,500 of what is now remitted wanted to answer my drafts. The disposal of my monies I leave entirely to you, but if India stock falls very low, I could wish it engaged in that stock in the names of such people as may be confided in. My Father I desire to have consulted on the disposing of the votes. As I have nothing more to say on the subject of my concerns, I shall now take my leave with prayers for your welfare.

I am etc.,

LETTER No. CXLV.

CALCUTTA

The 27th December 1769

TO ANSELM BEAUMONT, ESQ.,

Dear Beaumont,

In my letter to you and Leycester of the 26th I informed you, Captains Clements and Rous did not purpose to give receipts for the wine I had sent you on their ships. Since writing that letter I have obtained receipts which you will find enclosed. I likewise trouble you with a receipt for a pipe of wine belonging to Colonel Morgan which he kind enough to send to Mr. Daores, who will clear it from the quay and is to keep it for the Colonel's use.

As you have not received any advice of the money I remitted on your account to Charles Bouchier, Esq., I enclose you a copy of the bill with the receipt annexed attested by the Notary Publick at Fort St. George. I cannot account for Mr. Bouchier's remissness in not intimating to you the receipt of my draft when it has so long been discharged, but great men, it has been remarked, some times forget themselves.

I shall esteem myself much obliged to you if you will get me a good strong chariot with my Father's arms and engage some one of the Captains to bring it out on freight, the freight to be paid in Bengall at the rate of 2/6 per Arcot rupee.

Do, my Friend, get those troublesome tedious concerns I am engaged in, settled as soon as possible, if not already finished, and which from your letters I hope may be the case. If you will engage your wine merchants to send me two chests of the best claret yearly it will prove very agreeable to me.

I enclose you an extract of my letter to Mr. Vansittart. If you have any friend in the Direction, or any friend that has influence with a Director you will do me a most essential piece of service by interesting him in my behalf. I have added to the extract some remarks on my being put over the gentlemen of my own fleet of 1758 to obviate any objections which gentlemen disinclined to allow the justness of my pretensions might raise.

You will write to me if you chuse to have the monies of yours in my hands remitted home, or whether you chuse to continue it with me. Whatever may be your instructions on that head will be scrupulously followed. Believe me at all times and upon all occasions, etc.

P. S. I had forgot that I was to have sent you the Governor's Minute which excepts me from the iniquities he has pointed out to have been practised in the time of former Residents at Bauleah.

P. S. To the letter addressed to Henry Vansittart, Esq., dated 25th December 1769.

LETTER No. CXLVI.

CALCUTTA,

The 26th December, 1769

TO RALPH LEYCESTER, ESQ.

My dear Leicester,

Since closing my letter of the 24th I have addressed Mr. Vansittart on the subject of my remaining superseded by the gentlemen factors of 1760, and to the arguments urged to you I have added the enclosed P.S. Do, my Friend, take an opportunity to speak to Mr. Vansittart in support of my pretensions, and if you can prevail on yourself to stoop to ask a favor to obtain for me a point of most essential consequence, engage Mr. Sullivan in my behalf. I know your character is respected, and that when you please to exert yourself you are a most excellent advocate.

I am etc.

Lest any gentleman should object to me (unwilling to admit the justness of my pretensions to a preference to Messrs. Reid, Hare, etc., servants of the year 1760) that I superseded the gentlemen of my own fleet of 1758, that my name was the last on the list, and that the next year it was advanced to the top—to obviate this objection a recital of the fact becomes necessary. When I petitioned the Court of Directors to be appointed a Writer on the Bengal Establishment, some party difference subsisted betwixt Mr. Payne Chairman in 1757 and Mr. Sullivan, the then Deputy Chairman. My Father who inclined to promote Mr. Sullivan's views, gave umbrage by that partiality. Therefore at the time Writers were appointed to the several Presidencies Mr. Payne observed to the Court I was not of age. The Registrar of the ages of people born in Bengal was referred to, and it appeared I wanted eight days, in consequence of which the reading my petition was postponed to the expiration of those eight days, and the other gentlemen appointed. Of course as mine was a post nomination I appeared last upon the list, whereas I should have been the first. Mr. Sullivan when he came to the Chair had the matter represented to him by my father, and as party pique had so much injured me he put me on the list of Writers in the place where my name now stands and which I should have filled from the first, if Mr. Payne had not made that unkind observation above noted. The truth is known to Mr. Sullivan.

R. BARWELL.

LETTER No. CXLVII.

CALCUTTA.

The 26th December, 1769.

TO MISS MARY BARWELL.

My dear Sister,

I wrote you a short letter by the first ship. As I am not certain whether I then acknowledged the several instances given me of your esteem I now express myself under obligation to you for the following most acceptable, as they really are most affectionate favors—one dated 30th October 1768, two dated 5th December 1768, one of which is a particular recommendation of Mr. Henkell and one of the 1st March 1769. Surely I cannot have been so remiss as to have sent you but one letter in a season. It is true I seldom take copies of the scrawls I address to you, and, therefore, I cannot positively assert what letters of mine may have miscarried. I think, however, some must have been lost, for I would not imagine myself culpable in a point of so much moment to the affection I bear you. For should the delicacy of your regard become wounded by an idea that it is possible I should neglect you, my dearest Friend, discontent would precede a cold indifference, and that indifference terminate, it is possible, (though not probable) in dislike. But—hence such thoughts—it can never be. I do not like writing I own, but when I am once set down, no person feels more real satisfaction in conversing with his friends, and as the distance that divides us is so great, it is incumbent on me to give you as much of my time as I may be permitted to employ so well. The intimation that you have been indisposed affected me much, and I should have felt it more severely if the hopes you give me of your returning health did not in some degree allay those apprehensions my love in despite of my reason, still makes me entertain. Be sure to take good advice whenever sickness afflicts you. What is money without health? The plowman is happier who enjoys it than that man whose riches and power shall obtain him everything except that greatest of blessings. For shame then do not grudge expence when it is so essential to your future happiness. Be convinced I would most cheerfully support any charge to give your mind and body their pristine vigor, and if at any time you want more money than that I present for your acceptance, apply without scruple to Mr. Beaumont. It is my wish that he advance it, and if you show him this he will not doubt, as it is meeting my approbation. By Mr. Fisher I send on behalf of Atkinson 50 gold mohurs and two small diamonds accompanied with a letter to you. The value of a gold mohur, I believe, is 26 shillings agreeably to assay made in the Tower of the same coin. The diamond drops, I think,

worth from 20 to 23 pounds. I enclose to your own disposal a bill of exchange on my attorneys for £100, out of which if you can afford to send me your picture (a half length) drawn in oil colours with a plain gilt frame it will oblige me. I have wrote to my Father very urgently about getting me restored to the rank I ought to hold agreeably to the term of my servitude. How he will be affected by my letter I cannot tell. I have pushed the point with my parent very home in a confidence that he will not be offended, for my reasoning is just, and the things to be obtained of the most essential consequence to my future aims to independency of fortune. However, if I am mistaken and my Father takes umbrage at my freedom, I sincerely lament my error and request his pardon. You will have an opportunity of judging, and if he is displeased make a copy of this paragraph and send it in an address from yourself with such arguments as you think best calculated to appease his anger and restore me to his love. Believe me I would sooner spend my life in India than occasion him an uneasy moment.

On the departure of this ship, I have the pleasure to acquaint you I take my seat at the Council Board. If I obtain my rank, I shall be the 8th instead of being the last member (which I now am) of the Council. This is so essential a difference that, whereas in the station of 8th I should obtain a lucrative appointment I must in my present station remain between three and four years in Calcutta without any such appointment. Such is the subject on which the letter I have wrote to my Father turns. I have likewise wrote to Mr. Vansittart to try if I can interest him in my behalf as I have to Messrs. Leycester and Beaumont, and I have engaged Captain Clements of the *Charlotte* who is now here to push it with his friends, Mr. Fitzhugh and Mr. Purling. In short I have done what I can to command success, and if my Father will but back my applications by getting the thing moved in the Court of Directors, I hope to prosper. Should you have any curiosity to see my address to Mr. Vansittart and chuse to make yourself mistress of the subject, desire Mr. Beaumont to permit you to take a copy from the copy I have sent him, but you must return it to Mr. Beaumont as soon as you have taken the copy that he may have it to refer to upon any occasion that may offer where he thinks the subject may be mentioned to my advantage.

Before I take my leave I must once more enjoin you to attend to the preservation of your health; the care you take of that is the most convincing proof you can give me of the sincerity of your attachment.

I am etc.,

LETTER NO CXLVIII.

CALCUTTA.

The 26th December, 1769.

TO ALEXANDER CAMPBELL, ESQ

Dear Sir,

I am obliged by your letter per favor of Captain Rouse whose interests, believe me, I would with pleasure promote led by that esteem which an acquaintance of some duration seldom fails to create, but as I have neither had the power nor the opportunity to serve him, I can claim but little merit for the inclination. I hope you have found England as agreeable as you must have imagined when you regretted here your incapacity to return to it. My situation is somewhat similar to what was then yours, and still worse, for the prospect is more distant.

As it may be in your power to render me most essential service I take the liberty to send you an extract of my letter to Mr. Vansittart. Do not make it publick lest it give offence to Mr. Van[sittart]. Besides you can shew the grievance I complain of in a much stronger light than I can pretend to display it in, as your knowledge of mankind and of letters is so superior to mine. Friends you have that can serve me, and I know you can be a most excellent advocate when you please.

I enclose two notes that have passed to and from Mr. Russell respecting the monies you left in my hands. I am concerned that from some neglect of my attorneys and some neglect in yours the first year's interest was not remitted when it became due on my bond.

As I suppose you may have been informed of some transactions of a very improper nature committed by the Residents of Bauleah, to obviate the wrong impression which a half-told tale might occasion I send you a copy of the Governor's minute in justification of my conduct. This minute which separates me from the group included in the remarks Mr. Verelst made on former mismanagement became necessary, as those remarks were general. I fear the many instances of misconduct which have been publicly exposed may draw upon the whole body of Company's servants suspicions they do not merit. I therefore hope those gentlemen who know us will vindicate and shield us from illiberal aspersions. My best wishes and respects await Mrs. Campbell and may content the source of happiness attend you through life.

I am etc.,

Enclosures.

[Of no interest].

[To be continued].

Burials at Calcutta.

1713—1755.*

1.	1713.	Aug. 14.	Cpt. Bower.
2.	"	" 24.	Jane Deuberry.
3.	"	" 25.	Martha Newland.
4.	"	" "	William Pearson, Purser of the <i>Marlborough</i> .
5.	"	Sept. 6.	Richd. Acam, Pilot.
6.	"	" 24.	Mrs. Willmere.
7.	"	Oct. 23.	Mrs. White, a Widow.
8.	"	Dec. 15.	Moses Wilkins.
9.	"	" 27.	Mr. Edward Prince of Ye <i>Cardigan</i> .
10.	"	" 27.	William Buchanan, Writer to Ye Dutch at Hughly.
11.	1714.	Feb. 15.	Cpt. Ryan.
12.	"	Apr. 22.	Mrs. Cath. Cooper.
13.	"	" 23.	Richd, the son of Cpt. Williams, an infant.
14.	"	May 8.	Cpt. Herbert.
15.	"	" 22.	Mr. March.
16.	"	" 28.	Mr. Geo. Wastell, Writer.
17.	"	June 6.	Mr. Montgomery.
18.	"	" 10.	Cpt. Bonner.
19.	"	July 7.	Edward Harding.
20.	"	" 18.	Cpt. Samuel Butcher.
21.	"	" 23.	Cpt. Rigby.
22.	"	" 25.	Isaac Head, Junr.
23.	"	" 31.	Cpt. Craddock.
24.	"	Aug. 4.	Cpt. Richd. Holland.
25.	"	" 16.	Cpt. Bryan.
26.	"	Sept. 17.	John Gourdon, an Infant.
27.	"	" 20.	Henry Bindon, Company's Butcher.
28.	"	" 21.	Mr. Deborah Brown.
29.	"	Nov. 1.	Mr. Thomson, Factor.
30.	"	" 15.	Mr. Chamberlaine of the <i>Bowery</i> .
31.	"	" 24.	Mr. Henry Loyd, Junr. writer.
32.	"	" 25.	Mr. Samuel Kindon, writer.
33.	"	Dec. 27.	Cpl. Goodman.
34.	1715.	March 2.	Mr. Patle, Counsellor, Consumption.
35.	"	" 18.	James Dogood, Company's musician, Dysentery.
36.	"	April 6.	Edward Welter, Lieutenant, Malignant fever.
37.	"	" 19.	Mr. Hanour, once Chief of the French Factory at Chandanagar, melancholy and threw himself from Mr. Dean's balcony.
38.	"	May 25.	Edward Hastings, master of arms, Dysenterick fever.
39.	"	July 22.	Henrietta Gray, infant, fever and diarrhoea.
40.	"	Aug. 19.	Ann Montgomery, a child, convulsions.

* See above p. 166.

41.	1715.	Sept. 17.	Thomas Simmonds, a child, consumption.
42.	"	Oct. 1.	Peter Cornelison, Pilot in the river, dy'd suddenly.
43.	"	" 28.	Nevil Scrogg, Surgeon of a Ship, Dropsie and Consumption.
44.	"	Nov. 13.	Archibald Liston, Surgeon to a Ship, Hectick fever with an imputhumated breast.
45.	1716.	Jan. 26.	Barnville, a child, angina and ardent fever.
46.	"	Feby. 7.	Mrs. Harnet.
47.	"	Mar. 18.	Mr. Franks, writer, dyd suddenly.
48.	"	April 2.	Thomas Mossison, a child.
49.	"	" 11.	Mr. Jeremiah Whitecot, merchant.
50.	"	" 13.	Mrs. Mary Tawk.
51.	"	" 27.	Capt. Francis Hillam.
52.	"	June 14.	Capt. James Daryl.
53.	"	Aug. 23.	Mr. Thomas Cole, Merchant.
54.	"	" 26.	Mr. Thomas Bresse, Writer.
55.	"	" 26.	Henrietta Livesay, a child.
56.	"	Sept. 9.	Capt. Alexa Reid.
57.	"	" 18.	Edward Eastings.
58.	"	" 22.	John Newton.
59.	"	" 29.	Mr. William Chappel.
60.	"	Oct. 3.	Capt. Roger Young.
61.	"	" 12.	Dr. Keen.
62.	"	" 27.	Mr. Pest.
63.	"	Nov. 6.	John De Chayne.
64.	"	" 6.	Mr. Philada Eyer, dyed at Ballasore.
65.	"	" 14.	Mr. Lobdale.
66.	"	" 23.	Capt. Matthews.
67.	"	Dec. 2.	Mr. Frances Simmonds.
68.	"	" 9.	Joseph Tooth.
69.	"	" 12.	John Veal, an infant.
70.	"	" 24.	Robert Fairweather, a child.
71.	1717.	Jan. 22.	Mr. James Ravenhill, Senior Merchant.
72.	"	" 23.	Captain Veal.
73.	"	" 23.	Mrs. Gray.
74.	"	Feby. 2.	Mrs. Wolfraan.
75.	"	" 5.	Mr. James Boucher, Merchant.
76.	"	" 18.	Mary Colson.
77.	"	April 5.	Mrs. Mary Boucher.
77 A.	"	" 20.	John Tawk, an infant.
78.	"	June 3.	Mrs. Veste, Widow.
79.	"	Aug. 10.	Henry Webb, Mariner.
80.	"	" 15.	The Rev. Samuel Briercliffe, Chaplain.
81.	"	" 21.	John Dewberry, Clerk.
82.	"	" 23.	Drus Deane, Son of John Dean, Counsellor.
82 A.	"	Sept. 2.	Thomas King, Furner of the Cardigan.
83.	"	Sept. 21.	Nathaniel Gollie, Free Merchant.
84.	"	" 26.	Richard Drus, Mariner.
85.	"	" 30.	Samuel Juice, Capt. of Ye <i>Poulocondra</i> .
86.	"	Oct. 9.	Mr. Edm. Mason, Factor in the Compa's Service.
87.	"	" 18.	Richard Price.

88	1717.	Nov	3.	Thomas Moore.
89	"	"	6.	William Butford.
90	"	"	17.	James Sinclair, Mate of <i>Ye Cambridge</i> .
91	"	"	27.	George Dalton.
92	"	Dec.	5.	William Hamilton, Physician.
93	"	"	28.	The Hon'ble Robt. Hodges Esq., President.
94	1718.	Jan'y	16.	Capt. Antho. Ryan.
95	"	"	24.	Catherine Warren.
96	"	Feby.	2.	Stepney Maddox.
97	"	"	20.	Robert Symonds, Infant.
98	"	March	7.	Elizabeth Beaver. Do.
99	"	May	3.	Edw. Richd. Westmacott, Infant.
100	"	"	30.	Mrs. Sarah Lixessy.
101	"	July	2.	John Goodwin, Ransin.
102	"	"	8.	Capt. Charles Hammon.
103	"	"	24.	Mack John Gerton, Infant.
104	"	"	29.	James Wignell.
105	"	Aug.	2.	Mrs. Mary Wallis.
106	"	Sept.	6.	John Lewis, Pilot.
107	"	"	8.	Mr. William Bernstard, writer.
108	"	"	22.	John Jones, Mariner.
109	"	Nov.	20.	Thomas Collet, Son of Capt. Thomas Collet, Commander of the Ship <i>Grantham</i> .
110	"	"	30.	Capt. Henry Harnet, Gunner of Fort William.
111	"	Dec.	1.	Venus Bemon.
112	"	"	3.	Mary Cudde, Infant.
113	"	"	14.	Mary Clark. Do.
114	1719.	Jan'y	26.	Hannah Webb, Infant.
115	"	"	30.	Elizabeth Rainbow. Do.
116	"	Feby.	26.	Mary Townsend. Do.
117	"	March	5.	Mrs. Ellen Cooper.
118	"	"	12.	Christopher Oates, Infant.
119	"	"	25.	Mary Beaver.
120	"	"	28.	Eleanor Oates, Infant.
121	"	April	2.	Thomas Baas. Do.
122	"	"	2.	John Collier. Do.
123	"	"	3.	Samuel Oates. Do.
124	"	"	11.	Mr. John Oshaldeston, Factor in the Hon'ble Compa. Service.
125	"	Aug.	6.	James Morley, 4th Mate of <i>Prince Fredrick</i> .
126	"	"	17.	Mary Beaver.
127	"	"	22.	Mr. John Cooper, Free Merchant.
128	"	"	26.	Capt. James Laphoroe.
129	"	"	30.	Mr. Richard Bass, Mariner.
130	"	Sept.	2.	John Knight. Do.
131	"	"	13.	Thomas Haycraft, Musician.
132	"	"	16.	Mr. Stephen Scott, Writer in the Hon'ble Compa. Service at Ballasore.
133	"	"	30.	Mr. William Cowley, Factor in the Hon'ble Compa. Service.
134	"	Oct.	18.	Capt. Peter Matson.
134A.	"	"	"	Richard Deane, Pilot, killed.

135.	1719.	Oct. 21.	Thomas Fraser, Surgeon.
136.	"	" 21.	Mr. Edward Ange, Factor in the Honble Compy. Service.
137.	"	Nov. 3.	Thomas Howell, Steward of the Hospital.
138.	"	" 5.	George Willis, Mariner.
139.	"	" 8.	Ann Crawshaw.
140.	"	" 15.	Mr. William Liversay, Free Merchant.
141.	"	" 16.	Mr. William Hall, Free Merchant.
142.	"	Dec. 4.	Mr. Richd. Gregsons.
143.	"	" 13.	Capt. Charles Skirwin.
144.	1720.	April 11.	Mr. Baron Jeffs, Factor.
145.	"	May 30.	The Revd. Mr. Joshua Tomlinson, Chaplain.
146.	"	June 15.	Mary Townsend, Infant.
147.	"	" 20.	Elizabeth Townsend.
148.	"	July 18.	Edward Perring, 3rd. Mate of Ship Croggs.
149.	"	" 24.	Mr. Isaac Berkeley, Merchant.
150.	"	Aug. 2.	Mr. Samuel Brown, Merchant.
151.	"	" 27.	John Costes, Infant.
152.	"	Sept. 7.	Mrs. Elizabeth Thomlinson.
153.	"	Nov. 9.	Robert Williams, Mariner.
154.	"	Dec. 3.	Mrs. Sarah Williams.
155.	"	" 4.	Captain Stephen Norgate.
156.	"	" 13.	.....Scott, Doctor of the Duke of Cambridge.
157.	1721.	Jan. 3.	James Williamson Esqr. and of Council.
158.	"	May 17.	Mrs. Elizah Belasyse, wife of Mr. Thomas Belasyse, Free Merchant.
159.	"	June 19.	John Gulielmus, Ensign.
160.	"	" 19.	Daniel Bright, Mariner.
161.	"	July 16.	Henry Tanner, Surgeon.
162.	"	" 21.	Mr. Thos. Whity, Factor.
163.	"	Aug. 1.	Robert Cotter, Infant.
164.	"	" 27.	Mary Clive, Infant.
165.	1722.	Jan. 24.	Jacob Pitt, Inhabitant.
166.	"	April 21.	John Eyre of Council.
167.	"	" 28.	Margt., wife of Captain Charles Strong.
168.	"	" 28.	Henry Cross, Ensign.
169.	"	May 14.	John; Son of John and Mary Caswell.
170.	"	" 25.	Robert Ely, Clerk.
171.	"	July 5.	Peter Gayao, Clerk.
172.	"	Aug. 19.	Captain William Gwillim.
173.	"	" 19.	Delanne Pridham, Surgeon of Ship Desbaurrie.
174.	"	" 25.	Frances, daughter of Nathl. Townsend. Infant.
175.	"	" 28.	Adam Brown, Free Merchant.
176.	"	" 30.	John Graves, Mariner.
177.	"	Sept. 4.	Simon Hastings, Inhabitant.
178.	"	" 14.	Nathanel, Son of ye Hon'ble Saml. Feake. Govr. Infant.
179.	"	" 15.	Stephen White, Free Merch.
180.	"	" 21.	Capt. George Biggins.
181.	"	" 22.	Simon Floc, Mariner.
182.	"	" 27.	Abraham Bea, Mariner.

183.	1772.	Oct. 22	Sarah, wife of Saml. Newton, Pilot
184.	"	" 24	Samuel Griffith, Mariner.
185.	"	" 31	Peter Orquist, Mariner
186.	"	Nov. 8	Enour Gladwith, Ensign.
187.	"	" 12	Nathaniel Townsend, Sailor
188.	"	Dec. 4	Mrs. Anne Mounteney
189.	"	" 14	Samuel Montgomery, Musician.
190.	"	" 22	John Rainbrow, Pilot.
191.	1773.	Jan. 31.	George Graves, Musician.
192.	"	Feb. 4	Elizabeth, ye Wife of Mr. John Stackhouse.
193.	"	March 8	Henry ye. Son of John Collier, Pilot, and Ella his wife.
194.	"	" 21.	Captain Henry Dallabar.
195.	"	" 27.	Margaret ye. Wife of Captn. John Jones, Gunner.
196.	"	June 9.	Lewis Jordan, Inhabitant.
197.	"	" 13.	Ellis, Daughter of James and Eliza. Grimes, an Infant.
198.	"	Aug. 3.	Edward Lane, Mariner.
199.	"	" 4.	Edmund Thorne, Pilot.
200.	"	" 9.	William Osborn, Mariner.
201.	"	" 10.	Captn. William Gill.
202.	"	" 29.	Mr. William Cock, Free Merchant.
203.	"	Sept. 4	George Graham, Mariner.
204.	"	Nov. 10.	John Mason, Mariner.
205.	1724.	Mar. 20.	The Rev. Mr. Joseph Paget, Chapn. of this place, dyed in Dacca.
206.	"	April 9.	Amelia Allous.
207.	"	" 16.	Mr. William Bowridge, Junr, Mercbr. in the Honble Comp's Service.
208.	"	May 13.	Cap. Theophilus Gammon.
209.	"	June 1.	Wentworth, Son of Mr. Willm. Johnson and Alice his wife, Infant.
210.	"	" 15.	Alice, the wife of Mr. William Johnson, Merchant.
211.	"	" 19.	Margaret, Daughter of Benjamin Cleaverly and Mary his wife.
212.	"	" 30.	Eliza, Daughter of Mr. Ben. Harner, Jun. Merchant, and Ann his wife.
213.	"	July 6	Robert Hill, Pilot.
214.	"	" 25.	Mrs. Gertrude Thelwall, wife of Capt. Richd. Thelwall.
215.	"	Aug. 1.	John Crofts, Jeweller.
216.	"	" 9.	Mr. Robert Turner, Factor in the Hon. Comp's Service.
217.	"	" 23.	Mr. John Surman of Council in Bengal.
218.	"	Sept. 13.	Mr. Nathl. Hall, Factor, dyed at Dacca.
219.	"	" 21.	Robert Burton, Purser of Ship <i>Aistabie</i> .
220.	"	" 22.	Elizabeth, wife of Mr. Robt. Lavers.
221.	"	" 22.	Mrs. Sarah Stevens.
222.	"	" 30.	Mary, the wife of Thomas Coales.
223.	"	Oct. 3.	John Pearce, Inhabitant.
224.	"	" 3.	Elizabeth, wife of Alexr. Ramsay.
225.	"	" 18.	Robert White, Mariner.
226.	"	Nov. 4.	Benjamin Corbet, Surgeon at Cosimbazar.
227.	"	Dec. 31.	Thomas, Son of Capt. Richard Pearce, born at Tanquer.
228.	1725.	Jan. 22.	William Johnson, Infant.
229.	"	Mar. 17.	Harry Moor, Under Junimdar.
230.	"	April 18.	James Shaw, Infant.

231.	1725.	May 13.	Thomas Cassels, Infant.
232.	"	" 14.	Mr. Peter Markland, Factor.
233.	"	July 21.	Edward Ganage, Surgeon of Ship <i>Kyle</i> .
234.	"	Aug. 2.	John Cassels, Pilot.
235.	"	" 4.	James Warland, Infant.
236.	"	" 30.	Francis Pybus, Mariner, died at Cossimbazar.
237.	"	Sept. 2.	Sophia Armstrong, Infant.
238.	"	" 5.	John Bolton, Mariner.
239.	"	" 25.	John Cole, Mariner.
240.	"	" 30.	Benjamin Skinner, Gun's Mate of Fort William.
241.	"	" 30.	Charles Parakerley, Mariner, died at Cossimbazar.
242.	"	Oct. 12.	Mary Quastock. A Mustee.
243.	"	" 16.	John Gooding, Mariner.
244.	"	Nov. 3.	Jonathan Masley, Mariner.
245.	"	" 3.	John Gibbs, Mariner.
246.	"	" 9.	Thomas Gold, Mariner.
247.	"	" 30.	Patrick Pyott, Mariner.
248.	"	Dec. 28.	Henry Halsellum, Midshipman of Ship <i>Fardwick</i> .
249.	"	" 30.	Richard Quetch Doct. Goodwin's surgeon.
250.	1726.	Mar. 10.	John Gallant, Gunpowder Maker.
251.	"	" 10.	Domingo Wife of Philip Parsons.
252.	"	" 21.	Benjamin Cleverly, Jayner.
253.	"	April 1.	Thomas, Son of Captn. Cave & Elizabeth, his wife.
254.	"	" 1.	Richard Cleverly, child.
255.	"	" 14.	Elizabeth Levers, child.
256.	"	" 16.	Mrs. Mary Cleverly.
257.	"	" 19.	Mrs. Margaret Cassels.
258.	"	" 21.	Mr. Simon Mathews, Inhabitant.
259.	"	" 25.	Adas Wright, Mathematician.
260.	"	" 27.	Ann Uelin Moore, child.
261.	"	" 27.	Mrs. Sophia Armstrong.
262.	"	" 30.	William Tompson, Musician.
263.	"	May 6.	Mrs. Elizabeth Batman.
264.	"	" 15.	Thomas, son of Captn. Luton.
265.	"	" 19.	Elizabeth Debaume, child.
266.	"	" 25.	John Cahill, child.
267.	"	" 30.	Margaret, daughter of Captn. Murphey & Margaret, his wife, infant.
268.	"	June 5.	William, son of William Gammon.
269.	"	" 9.	Rober Singclear, Mariner.
270.	"	" 20.	John Myer, Steward of Ye Hospital.
271.	"	" 25.	Mr. Charles Watkins, Writer in Ye Hon'ble Company's Service at Dacca.
272.	"	" 30.	Daniel Wilkinson, Pilot.
273.	"	July 3.	Thomas Mackey, Mariner.
274.	"	" 31.	John Mincham, Midshipman of Captn. Small.
275.	"	Aug. 1.	Capt. John Gifford.
276.	"	" 8.	John Mann, Mariner.
277.	"	" 10.	Edward North, Inhabitant.
278.	"	" 11.	George, Son of Alexander Ramsay and Elizabeth, his wife.

279	1726	Aug. 15.	Peter Batton, Mariner.
280	"	" 25.	Capt. William Jordan.
281	"	" 26.	Roger Pallaco, Mariner.
282	"	" 31.	John Fergusson, Midshipman of <i>Ye Muldiess</i> .
283	"	Sept. 13.	John Dick, Ensign.
284	"	" 23.	William Goulding, Surgeon's Mate of the <i>Craggs</i> .
284A.	"	Oct. 6.	Thomas Hodson Captain of the <i>Durmon</i> .
285	"	Nov. 8.	Henry Carew, Midshipman of the <i>Sarum</i> .
286	"	Dec. 1.	Dr. John Sturt.
287	1727.	Jan. 3.	Edward Partridge, Mariner.
288	"	" 7.	Mr. William Topping, Senr. Merchant.
289	"	" 15.	John Mayne, Mariner.
290	"	" 19.	Thomas Young.
291	"	Feb. 27.	Capt. John Wyndham.
292	"	Mar. 7.	Hon. Sporn, Mariner.
293	"	" 16.	Diana Derotah.
294	"	April 15.	John King, Mariner.
295	"	" 19.	Capt. John Washington.
296	"	May 5.	John Forster, Factor in <i>Ye Hon'ble Comp's</i> Service.
297	"	" 23.	John Wilmore, 3rd Mate of Ship <i>London</i> .
298	"	June 8.	Capt. Hon. Cave, Gunner of Fort William.
299	"	" 22.	Brian Smith, Pilot.
300	"	" 27.	Thomas Hart, Pilot.
301	"	July 6.	Mrs. Betty Thelwall.
302	"	" 22.	Hon. Houghton, Midshipman of <i>Ye London</i> .
303	"	Aug. 28.	William Beal, Surgeon.
304	"	Sept. 18.	John Davis, Surgeon.
305	"	" 18.	Mr. Christopher Birkhead, Junr. Mercht. in <i>Ye Hon. Comp's</i> Service.
306	"	Oct. 20.	Samuel Bazett from <i>St. Helena</i> .
307	"	" 23.	Willm. Goumet, Farmer.
308	"	" 27.	Eliz. Collier, Infant.
309	"	Nov. 10.	Willm. Hoise, Inhabitant.
310	"	" 17.	Mrs. Mary Legat, Inhabitant.
311	1728.	Jan. 1.	Joseph James.
312	"	" 6.	Thomas Johnson.
313	"	" 16.	Mrs. Eliz. Poulret.
314	"	Feb. 16.	Harriet Harnet, Infant.
315	"	" 24.	Capt. William Troughton.
316	"	Mar. 17.	Mrs. Martha Eyre.
317	"	April 30.	Mrs. Avarina Cooke.
318	"	May 1.	Capt. Walter Forbes, drowned.
319	"	" 25.	Thomas Fagnal Cave, Infant.
320	"	July 1.	Richard Gilman, Mariner.
321	"	" 4.	Capt. William Shortbon.
322	"	" 12.	Joanna Willowbuss, Infant.
323	"	" 20.	Mr. Thomas Hawke, Inhabitant.
324	"	Aug. 6.	John Guthrie, Inhabitant.
325	"	" 11.	May Aloise, Inhabitant.
326	"	" 14.	George Turnwood.

327	1728.	Aug. 23.	The Hon'ble Henry Frankland Esqr. Governor of Fort William.
328	"	" 28.	Mrs. Harriot Weston.
329	"	" 29.	Sarah Taylor from St. Helena.
330	"	" 30.	John Shotes, Mariner.
331	"	" 31.	Richard Mead Moore, Infant.
332	"	Sept. 8.	Mr. William Rivet, writer in ye Hon'ble Comp' Service.
333	"	" 11.	Mary Taylor, Infant.
334	"	" 15.	Mr. James Milne, Midshipman of Ship <i>Heathcoat</i> .
335	"	" 16.	Mr. Daniel Claude Jaminau.
336	"	" 25.	James Grimes, Infant.
337	"	" 29.	John Stephens, Pilot.
338	"	Oct. 4.	John Roberts, Midshipman of Ship <i>Streatham</i> .
339	"	" 26.	Elizabeth Harland.
340	"	" 26.	Charles Osburn, 5th Mate of Ship <i>Streatham</i> .
341	"	Nov. 16.	William Morphew, child.
342	"	Dec. 18.	Christopher Curvon, Parish-Clerk.
343	1729.	Jan. 10.	Captn. George Bortase.
344	"	" 14.	Captn. Charles Strong.
345	"	" 25.	Mr. Francis Milton, 3rd Mate of Ship <i>Streatham</i> .
346	"	Feb. 14.	William Matthew Williams, Midshipman of ye <i>Heathcoat</i> .
347	"	" 15.	Walter Harland, Infant.
348	"	April 3.	Mrs. Mary Thelwall.
349	"	" 25.	William Bates, Mariner.
350	"	" 26.	Mr. Wm. Haskoll, Senr. Merchant in ye Humble Company's Service.
351	"	May 20.	Joanna Willowbuss, Infant.
352	"	June 2.	Margaret Meyrick, Infant.
353	"	July 1.	Mrs. Jane Bellamy.
354	"	" 14.	Alda Plank, Infant.
355	"	" 18.	Henry Vanpice, Infant.
356	"	" 18.	Andrew Anderson, Doctor's mate of Ship <i>Greenwich</i> .
357	"	" 21.	Mr. Robert West, Surgeon.
358	"	" 26.	Mr. Joseph Dimond, Mariner.
359	"	" 29.	Mr. Bagonli Wallis, Mariner.
360	"	Aug. 8.	John Turing, Doct. of Ship <i>Greenwich</i> .
361	"	" 20.	Mr. John Franks, Mariner.
362	"	" 23.	Captn. Richd. Lassibby of Ship <i>Greenwich</i> .
363	"	" 26.	William Macklery, Doct's mate of <i>Europe Gally</i> .
364	"	Sept. 7.	John Cole, Mariner.
365	"	" 11.	Mr. George Slaughter, Midshipman of Ship <i>Drake</i> .
366	"	" 13.	Richd. Taylor, Mariner.
367	"	" 29.	Ann Hurnet, Infant.
368	"	Oct. 3.	Captn. Thomas Harding.
369	"	" 26.	Edward Bowman, Inhabitant.
370	"	Nov. 6.	Mrs. Elizabeth Grimes.
371	"	" 15.	John Davis, Mariner.
372	"	" 16.	Captn. Thomas Purnell.
373	"	" 27.	Thomas Caley, Mariner.
374	"	Dec. 1.	Giles Bateman, Inhabitant.
375	"	" 16.	John Herring, Inhabitant.

376.	1739.	March 9.	Capt. Jonathan Sommers of Ship <i>Duke of York</i> .
377.	"	" 14.	Ephraim Roberts, Infant.
378.	"	April 16.	Thomas Dennis.
379.	"	May 4.	Mr. Gerard Boore, Inhabitant.
380.	"	June 4.	Jacob Pitterson, Infant.
381.	"	" 6.	Felicia Harland, Inhabitant.
382.	"	" 19.	Mary Page, Infant.
383.	"	July 22.	Mr. John Plank, Inhabitant.
384.	"	" 27.	Ensign Dissidear.
385.	"	" 29.	John Hurford, Inhabitant.
386.	"	Aug 3.	John Kelsall, Infant.
387.	"	" 6.	James Maclelland Lyndsey, Inhabitant.
388.	"	" 7.	Capt. James Lewton.
389.	"	" 14.	Alexander Curry Mariner.
390.	"	" 28.	James Willis, Inhabitant.
391.	"	Sept. 8.	Mr. Willm. Horrocks, Mariner.
392.	"	" 11.	Anthony Willowby, Doctr. of Ship <i>Fordwich</i> .
393.	"	" 16.	Mary Beals, Inhabitant.
394.	"	" 19.	John Sayers, Inhabitant.
395.	"	Oct. 14.	Mr. Timothy Caswall, writer to ye Hon'ble Company.
396.	"	" 24.	Capt. Isaac Devergen.
397.	"	Nov. 2.	Mrs. Ann Cocke, Inhabitant.
398.	"	" 4.	Eliz. Taylor, Infant.
399.	"	Dec. 13.	Mrs. Eliz. Coates, Inhabt.
400.	"	" 25.	John Dupperise, Mariner.
401.	1731.	Feb. 6.	Quintus Reynolds, Inhabitant.
402.	"	" 23.	Stephen Winston, Inhabitant.
403.	"	" 24.	Christopher Lumley, Mariner.
404.	"	Apr. 7.	Mr. Eliz. Hurdie, Inhabitant.
405.	"	" 17.	Eliz. Vampien, Infant.
406.	"	May 16.	John Morphew, Infant.
407.	"	June 21.	Mr. John Dix, Senr Merchant.
408.	"	" 23.	Mr. Robt. Hanson, Pilot.
409.	"	July 10.	Thos Yates, Chief mate of Ship <i>Drake</i> .
410.	"	" 15.	Charles Smith, Mariner.
411.	"	" 16.	Mr. Henry Munday.
412.	"	" 24.	Mr. Thos. Fitzhugh, Parser of Ship <i>Derby</i> .
413.	"	Aug. 9.	Mr. Drew Deane, Writer.
414.	"	" 12.	Mr. Mary Rende, Inhabt.
415.	"	" 13.	Mr. Edwd. Carteret in Council.
416.	"	" 14.	Mr. Beckford Pellat, 3rd Mate of Ship <i>Drake</i> .
417.	"	" 15.	John Wood, Infant.
418.	"	" 20.	Mrs. Mary Hurdie, Inhabt.
418A.	"	" "	Capt. John Lawton of Ship <i>Frances</i> .
419.	"	Sept. 3.	Mr. John Murphay, Mariner.
420.	"	" 10.	Capt. Thos Garland.
421.	"	" 12.	Mr. Saml. Green, Purser of a Country Ship.
422.	"	" 14.	Saml. Mealy, Doctr's Mate of Ship <i>Drake</i> .
423.	"	" 17.	Eliz. Scurrier, Infant.
424.	"	" 23.	David Dore 3rd Mate of Ship <i>Frances</i> .

425.	1731.	Sept. 24	Mr. James Symonds, Purser of the <i>Abdalla</i> .
426.	"	" 26.	Mrs. Eliz. Barwell, Inhabit.
427.	"	" 28.	Mr. Joseph Crofts, 4th Mate of Ship <i>Deane</i> .
428.	"	" 29.	George Mullins, Infant.
429.	"	Oct. 10.	Mr. Charles A Black, Dyler.
430.	"	" 17.	Robert Turpin, Infant.
431.	"	" 24.	Mr. John Turpin, Mariner.
432.	"	" 29.	John Massey, Infant.
433.	"	Nov. 16.	Philip Pulwar, Infant.
434.	"	" 25.	Mr. Francis Hyde-Burton, Writer.
435.	"	Dec. 6.	Peter Dent, Inhabit.
436.	"	" 9.	Mr. Sarah Southen, Inhabit.
437.	1732.	Jan. 2.	Major Richard Hunt.
438.	"	" 6.	Samuel Winfield, Midshipman of Ship <i>George</i> .
439.	"	" 18.	Stephen Cooper, Ensign.
440.	"	" 21.	Capt. William Squires.
441.	"	Feb. 3.	Capt. John West.
442.	"	Mar. 5.	Margaret Page, Infant.
443.	"	May 9.	Capt. Jacob Asselin.
444.	"	" 20.	Edward Clark, Inhabitant.
445.	"	" 26.	Capt. Edward Armstrong.
446.	"	June 25.	Mr. Raina Settleworth, Mariner.
447.	"	" 27.	James Langford, Mariner.
448.	"	July 13.	Mr. James Vesey, Inhabitant.
449.	"	" 26.	Martin Schiermond.
450.	"	Aug. 5.	Mr. Abraham Mosfort.
451.	"	" 9.	Mr. William Eston, Sent. Merch.
452.	"	" 28.	Mr. Henry Harvey, Mariner.
453.	"	" 30.	Mrs. Mary Holmes, died at Cosimbazar.
454.	"	Sept. 3.	Mr. Ralph Wooderson, Mariner.
455.	"	" 13.	Nathl Rose, Mariner.
456.	"	" 25.	George Massey, Infant.
457.	"	Oct. 10.	Mr. John Upton, Mariner.
458.	"	" 12.	Mr. Thos. Fletcher, 5th Mate of Ship <i>Duke of Cornwall</i> .
459.	"	" 17.	Mr. Janath Matthews, 3rd Mate do.
460.	"	" 23.	John Scurrim, Infant.
461.	"	" 28.	Eliath. Hardin, a child.
462.	"	"	Mr. Stafford Morgan of Ship <i>Sadford</i> .
463.	"	Nov. 6.	John Truety, Sergeant.
464.	"	Dec. 21.	Mr. John Sainsbury Lloyd, Merchant.
465.	1733.	Jan. 21.	Peter Barnes, Mariner.
466.	"	Feb. 1.	Mary Nichols, Infant.
467.	"	Mar. 28.	Mr. John Bonkett in Council.
468.	"	May 13.	Philip Pulwar, Infant.
469.	"	" 30.	Peter Elliot, Infant.
470.	"	July. 15.	John Plank, Infant.
471.	"	" 22.	Robt. Massey, Infant.
472.	"	" 23.	Robt. Forbes.
473.	"	Aug. 3.	Robt. Laws, Mariner.
474.	"	" 10.	Richard Page, Mariner.

475.	1733.	Aug. 15.	John Simpson, 8th Mate of Ship <i>Hydra</i> .
476.	"	" 21.	John Clarke, Pilot.
477.	"	" 31.	Jacob Barnes, Inhabt.
478.	"	" 36.	Barram Manning, 1st Mate of the <i>Duke of Lorraine</i> .
479.	"	" 29.	Mr. John Loff.
480.	"	Sept. 4.	Capt. Charles Manley.
481.	"	" 5.	Mr. Charles Starko, Doct's Mate of the <i>Duke of Lorraine</i> .
482.	"	" 10.	Robt. King, Mariner.
483.	"	" 11.	Theo. King, Inhabt.
484.	"	" 25.	John Smith, Mariner.
485.	"	" 30.	Ann Margas, Infant.
486.	"	Oct. 20.	Frederick Dent, Dr's Mate of the <i>Bedford</i> .
487.	"	Nov. 3.	Richd. Clarke, Infant.
488.	"	Dec. 10.	Mrs. Sophia Parkerley.
489.	"	" 26.	Adam Dawson, the Hon'ble Compa's Boatswain.
490.	1734.	Jan. 3.	Harry Johnson, Mariner.
491.	"	" 19.	Charles Hemmings, Pilot (sic).
492.	"	Mar. 1.	Edward Clarke, Mariner.
493.	"	" 27.	Mr. John Collier, Pilot (sic).
494.	"	Apr. 15.	Capt. Thos. Snow.
495.	"	May 11.	Sophia Parkerley, Infant.
496.	"	June 4.	Sarah Christians.
497.	"	" 6.	Mr. Thos. Deane, Mariner.
498.	"	" 17.	Mz. Thos. Cahill, Hon'ble Compa's Joyner.
499.	"	" 18.	Ellish. Anderson, Infant.
500.	"	" 22.	Anthony Dipping, Surgeon.
501.	"	" 23.	James Hawkes, Infant.
502.	"	" 27.	James Santiago, Infant.
503.	"	July 15.	John Pulwar, Infant.
504.	"	" 25.	Capt. George Pitt of Ship <i>George</i> .
505.	"	" 25.	Mr. James Otley, Inhabt.
506.	"	" 27.	Mr. John Hogden.
507.	"	" 28.	Thomas Benbow, Infant.
508.	"	" 29.	Prudence Love, Infant.
509.	"	Aug. 3.	Charles Pattison, Mariner.
510.	"	" 16.	Mr. Richd. Donesel of Ship <i>George</i> .
511.	"	" 27.	David. Pernu, Mariner.
512.	"	" 29.	Susanah Allotter, Inhabt.
513.	"	Sept. 9.	Henry Edwards.
514.	"	" 10.	Mr. Corlan Tavernour, Inhabitant.
515.	"	" 12.	Samuel Palmer, Inhabt.
516.	"	" 20.	Anthony Dowson, Inhabt.
517.	"	Oct. 6.	William Barnett, Mariner.
518.	"	" 14.	Lewis Knott, Inhabt.
519.	"	" 15.	Capt. William Ellis.
520.	"	" 17.	Catherina Orme.
521.	"	Nov. 6.	Mr. Robt. Kullot, 2nd Mate of <i>Duke of Dorset</i> .
522.	"	" 16.	Jonas Kame, Inhabt.
523.	"	" 23.	Mr. Matthew Wesley, Inhabt.
524.	"	Dec. 3.	Mrs. Eleanor Orme, Inhabt.

525.	1735-	Dec.	9.	Mrs. Mary West, Inhabit.
526.	"	"	14.	Mrs. Eliz.—Cave, Inhabit.
527.	"	"	25.	John Van-Malen, Infant.
528.	1735-	Jan.	1.	Charles Kactt, Mariner.
529.	"	"	3.	Ann Rambold, Infant.
530.	"	"	5.	Ann Broadhooke, Infant.
531.	"	"	13.	Susanna Broadbrooke, Infant.
532.	"	"	20.	Thos. Rambold, Infant.
533.	"	"	23.	Mr. Israel Wilks, Mariner.
534.	"	"	27.	Mr. John Vesey, Infant.
535.	"	"	30.	Charles Brown, Infant.
536.	"	"	30.	Eliath. Bishop, Infant.
537.	"	Feb.	7.	Joanna Adams, Infant.
538.	"	"	8.	William Gordan.
539.	"	"	24.	Charles Cruttingden, Infant.
540.	"	March	4.	William Love, Infant.
541.	"	"	15.	Mr. John Oldmixon, Senr. Merchant.
542.	"	"	15.	Thomas Vases, Inhabitant.
543.	"	May	1.	Mr. Edgerton Arms, Inhabitant.
544.	"	"	31.	Eliath. Elliot, Infant.
545.	"	June	25.	Hamden Jordan, Mariner.
546.	"	"	26.	John Sampley.
547.	"	Aug.	16.	Mr. John Elderton, Midshipman of ye <i>Beaufort</i> .
548.	"	"	18.	Wm. Searle, Steward of the <i>Godolphin</i> .
549.	"	"	18.	Capt. John Willis.
550.	"	"	19.	Thos. Pennie, Mariner.
551.	"	"	26.	Mr. John Colverson, Mariner.
552.	"	"	26.	Mr. Thos. Lawson, Purser.
553.	"	Sept.	1.	Mr. William Wood, Purser.
554.	"	"	21.	Mr. John Hume, Chief-Mate of Ships <i>Wager</i> .
555.	"	Oct.	2.	William Collier, Inhabit.
556.	"	"	5.	Edwd. Goodwin, Midshipman of ye <i>Godolphin</i> .
557.	"	"	31.	Catharine Allotte, Inhabitant.
558.	"	Nov.	1.	Isa. Julius, Inhabit.
559.	"	Dec.	27.	Michael Craggs, Infant.
560.	1736-	Jan.	1.	Mrs. Elizabeth Harding, Inhabitant.
561.	"	"	3.	John Jasper, Inhabitant.
562.	"	"	16.	Joseph Jellings, Infant.
563.	"	"	28.	Mr. John Brown, Chief of the <i>Marlbrough</i> .
564.	"	Feb.	4.	Mrs. Martha Orme, Inhabitant.
565.	"	"	22.	George Holmes, Inhabitant.
566.	"	"	23.	William Hamley, Inhabitant.
567.	"	Mar.	19.	David Hendrick, Inhabitant.
568.	"	"	22.	Thomas Hawkes, Infant.
569.	"	April	16.	John Sleight, Inhabitant.
570.	"	May	4.	Mr. Thomas Milford, Inhabitant.
571.	"	"	26.	Thomas Scales, Infant.
572.	"	June	2.	Capt. George Phenouse, Inhabitant.
573.	"	"	13.	Capt. John Parsons.
574.	"	"	30.	John Holmes, Infant.

575.	1736.	July	6.	Capt. Basil Hamilton.
576.	"	"	12.	Mr. Robert Mullins, Inhabitant.
577.	"	Aug.	5.	Mr. Saml. Mitchell, Midshipman of the <i>Compton</i> .
578.	"	"	7.	Elizabeth Banbury, Infant.
579.	"	"	10.	Robert Hart, Inhabitant.
580.	"	"	26.	Capt. Thomas Manley.
581.	"	Sept.	5.	John Camel, Inhabitant.
582.	"	"	16.	Arch. Taylor, Surgeon's Mate of the <i>Defence</i> .
583.	"	"	17.	Mr. Thomas Bexan, Mariner.
584.	"	Oct.	4.	Mr. Roger Mathews of Ship <i>Cyton</i> .
585.	"	"	17.	Anna Maria.
586.	"	"	30.	Edward House, Midshipman of the <i>Hazelingfield</i> .
587.	"	Nov.	10.	Mr. Thomas Coates in Council.
588.	"	"	23.	Mr. John Durley, Merchant.
589.	"	"	20.	Mr. Robert Hall, 3rd Mate of the <i>Grantham</i> .
590.	"	Dec.	2.	Henry Waddington.
591.	"	"	2.	Capt. Alexander Baxter.
592.	"	"	8.	William Rosier, Infant.
593.	"	"	10.	Thomas Comer, Mariner.
594.	1737.	Jan.	6.	Isabella Banbury, Infant.
595.	"	"	24.	Edward Clark, Infant.
596.	"	Feb.	17.	Elizabeth Duce, Infant.
597.	"	April	19.	Mr. Alexander Orme, Inhabitant.
598.	"	"	22.	James Granville, Mariner.
599.	"	May	13.	Ann Joakin.
600.	"	"	14.	Ephraim Roberts, Pilot.
601.	"	"	26.	Mr. William Allen, Mariner.
602.	"	"	28.	Samuel Thomas, do.
603.	"	June	14.	Mr. Rowland Vanbenn, Inhabitant.
604.	"	"	20.	Mrs. Mary Roberts.
605.	"	"	24.	Mr. Edward Hill, Mariner.
606.	"	July	5.	Mr. John Lashly, third Mate of the Ship <i>Hallifax</i> .
607.	"	"	21.	Richard Eagen, Mariner.
608.	"	"	21.	Henry Light, Infant.
609.	"	"	27.	Mr. Ralph Manley, Midshipman of the <i>Hallifax</i> .
610.	"	Aug.	13.	Ann Hill, Infant.
611.	"	"	6.	Bernard Burnson, Infant.
612.	"	"	10.	Capt. John Coomes.
613.	"	"	12.	Martha Gurney, Infant.
614.	"	"	13.	Capt. John Holmes.
615.	"	"	13.	Mr. Robert Beadle, Mariner.
616.	"	"	19.	Mrs. Martha Holmes.
617.	"	Sept.	3.	Mr. Edward Frost, Merchant.
618.	"	"	5.	George Earthly, Mariner.
619.	"	"	12.	Mr. Abraham Mills, Pilot.
620.	"	"	17.	Mrs. Ann Turpin, Inhabitant.
620A.	"	"	18.	Mr. Charles Whanham of Ship <i>Lido</i> .
621.	"	"	18.	Mr. Richard Hipper [Kipper?] 5th Mate of Ship <i>Hallifax</i> .
622.	"	"	23.	John Macey, Mariner.
623.	"	Oct.	4.	Mr. William Cotham of Ship <i>Decker</i> .

624.	1737.	Oct. 14.	Mr. Richd. Bing, Inhabitant.
625.	"	" 15.	Thomas Russell, Mariner.
626.	"	" 16.	Mr. John Bishop, Mariner.
627.	"	" 21.	Mr. John Searle, Inhabitant.
628.	"	" 23.	William Read, Infant.
629.	"	" 28.	Mr. John Mansell, Mariner.
630.	"	" 29.	Mr. Richd Fisher, Midshipman of Ship <i>P. Louisa</i> .
631.	"	Nov. 15.	Thomas Lumpkin, Inhabitant.
632.	"	" 18.	Mr. Griffith Williams, Mariner.
633.	"	Dec. 1.	Mr. Jeremiah Kendall, and Mate of the <i>Hallifax</i> .
634.	"	" 4.	Daniel Voss, Inhabitant.
635.	"	" 9.	Capt. John Anon, of Ship <i>Hallifax</i> .
636.	"	" 12.	Robt. Hockett, 4th Mate of the <i>Demonshire</i> .
637.	"	" 13.	Ralph Garnet, Inhabitant.
638.	"	" 25.	Capt. Edward Williamson of Ship <i>Decker</i> .
639.	1738.	Jan. 1.	William Thompson.
640.	"	" 3.	Ann Barwell, Infant.
641.	"	" 3.	William Hunt, Infant.
642.	"	" 4.	Henry Spikeman, Merch.
643.	"	" 18.	Holt Emauer Seters, Infant.
644.	"	" 29.	Joseph Hill, Mariner.
645.	"	Feb. 24.	Robert Tompson and Mate of the <i>Deenashire</i> .
646.	"	" 25.	John Ostrick, Mariner.
647.	"	Mar. 15.	Mr. George Horsenail, Mariner.
648.	"	" 20.	Mr. William Kedridge, Mariner.
649.	"	Apr. 16.	Nicholas Kimer, Midshipman of Ship <i>Lyell</i> .
650.	"	" 29.	Gern Arab, Inhabitant.
651.	"	May 6.	Abia Cornelius, Infant.
652.	"	" 16.	Ann Sahon, Inhabitant.
653.	"	" 25.	Thomas Rooksby, 5th Mate of ye <i>Princess Mary</i> .
654.	"	June 17.	Mr. John Hammond, Mariner.
655.	"	" 19.	Jonathan King, Doctor of Ship <i>Princess Mary</i> .
656.	"	" 25.	Mr. Joseph Townsend, Inhabitant.
657.	"	July 2.	Mr. Samuel Howlet, Mariner.
658.	"	" 7.	Mr. John Panning, Junr. Merch.
659.	"	" 8.	Thomas Hunter, Infant.
660.	"	" 13.	Mr. John Jewers, Inhabitant.
661.	"	" 20.	Hauns Jordan, Mariner.
662.	"	" 28.	John Harrison, Mariner.
663.	"	" 29.	Thomas Sepping, Inhabitant.
664.	"	Aug. 3.	Antony Bodily, Mariner.
665.	"	" 6.	William Easton, and Mate of Ship <i>P. Mary</i> .
666.	"	" 17.	Capt. Samuel Cole.
667.	"	" 18.	Uralia Parker, Infant.
668.	"	" 19.	Capt. Thomas Bennett.
669.	"	" 24.	John Hall, Mariner.
670.	"	" 29.	Albert Emerly, Inhabitant.
671.	"	Sept. 2.	William Cockshaw, Mariner.
672.	"	" 10.	William Orme, Mariner.
673.	"	" 13.	William Jackson, Mariner.



PROPYLON OF ATALA MASJID, JAUNPUR.
Photograph by Walter K. Firminger.

674.	1738.	Sept. 18.	Sophia Tomlinson, Inhabitant.
675.	"	" 22.	Mr. George Lambton.
676.	"	" 27.	William Fendall, Mariner.
677.	"	Oct. 4.	Robert Eyre, Merchant.
678.	"	" 11.	Mr. William Flacknal, Mariner.
679.	"	" 23.	John Taylor, Mariner.
680.	"	" 28.	Benjamin Purnell, Mariner.
681.	"	" 30.	William Bruce, Mariner.
682.	"	Nov. 6.	Capt. Thomas Atkinson.
683.	"	" 7.	Andrew Anderson, Mariner.
684.	"	" 18.	Joseph Cummins, Midshipman of the <i>Wager</i> .
685.	"	Dec. 1.	John Kirk, Infant.
686.	"	" 8.	Capt. John Edge.
687.	1739.	Jan. 15.	Capt. Benjamin Burnstead.
688.	"	Feb. 11.	Mrs. Sarah Bouchier.
689.	"	" 26.	Mary Terpin, Infant.
690.	"	Mar. 12.	Capt. Robert Dennis.
691.	"	" 19.	Geo. Singclair, Mariner.
692.	"	May 9.	Michael Henshaw, Inhabit.
693.	"	" 13.	Elizabeth Long, Inhabitant.
694.	"	June 8.	Capt. Jno. Cadmore.
695.	"	" 9.	John Cox, Infant.
696.	"	July 15.	Mary Cragg, Infant.
697.	"	" 28.	Capt. John Powney.
698.	"	Aug. 15.	Robert Fossitt.
699.	"	Sept. 7.	Mrs. Mary Mary Steward, Inhabit.
700.	"	" 12.	Capt. Michael Grey.
701.	"	" 23.	Harman Cornelius, Mariner.
702.	"	" 24.	Richard Cragg, Mariner.
703.	"	" 24.	Thomas Dedleez, Mariner of Ship <i>Grantham</i> .
704.	"	Oct. 2.	Capt. John Jones.
705.	"	" 6.	Capt. William Hurst.
706.	"	" 6.	Mr. George Robert Dickenson, Merchant.
707.	"	" 10.	Susannah Dent.
707A.	"	" 20.	Mr. Tho. Cave, Steward; Ship <i>Somerset</i> .
707B.	"	" 22.	Mr. Ablester Downs, Purser, Do.
708.	"	" 31.	James West, Mariner.
709.	"	" 31.	Samuel Mackcubin, Inhabitant.
710.	"	Nov. 13.	Mr. Christopher Eyre, Mariner.
711.	"	Dec. 19.	Francis Reynold, Inhabitant.
712.	1740.	Jan. 26.	Hellen Buyers, Infant.
713.	"	Feb. 2.	Thomas Southon, Mariner.
714.	"	Mar. 3.	Thomas Leech, Mariner.
715.	"	" 15.	Isaac Nicols, Infant.
716.	"	" 18.	Mrs. Sarah Suncilff, Inhabitant.
717.	"	" 20.	Mr. John Austin, Inhabitant.
718.	"	" 30.	Thomas Hunter, Infant.
719.	"	Apr. 8.	Sarah Bress, Infant.
720.	"	" 18.	Richard Mann, Infant.
721.	"	" 19.	Richard Bress, Infant.

742	1740.	Apl.	26.	Hannah Cragg, Infant.
743	"	May	6.	Samuel Toms.
744	"	"	10.	Eleanor Elliott, Infant.
745	"	"	14.	Abraham Wantrooswyck, Infant.
746	"	"	29.	Thomas Long, Mariner.
747	"	July	20.	Francis Brook, Inhabt., Taylor.
748	"	"	24.	Daniel Harrison, Inhabitant.
749	"	"	28.	John Dason, Inhabitant.
750	"	"	30.	Capt. Walter Hoxton.
751	"	Aug.	9.	Edward Ellis, Midshipman of Ship <i>Princess Wales</i> .*
752	"	"	10.	Capt. Edward Love, Inhabt.
753	"	"	12.	John Dyer, Mariner.
754	"	"	13.	Mrs. Frances Bruce, Inhabt.
755	"	"	19.	Mr. John Norfolk, Merchant.
756	"	"	19.	Mr. John Clements, Mariner.
757	"	Sept.	20.	Mr. Thomas Middleton, 4th Mate of Ship <i>Prince of Wales</i> .
758	"	"	24.	Mr. William Cole, 4th Mate of Ship <i>Princess Louisa</i> .
759	"	"	25.	Mrs. Frances Mackaffrey.
759A.	"	Oct.	16.	Mr. Phillip Hambley, Purser of Ship <i>Prince William</i> .
760	"	Oct.	28.	Mrs. Margaret Vessey, Inhabitant.
761	"	Nov.	17.	Mr. Ralph Johnson, Sear. Merchant.
762	"	"	17.	Mrs. Ann Moore, Inhabt.
763	"	Dec.	16.	Mrs. Elisha Hunter, Inhabt.
764	"	"	29.	Mr. Hannah Rochester Fenton.
765	1741.	Mar.	31.	John Daniel, Infant.
766	"	July	30.	Charles Jenkins, Inhabitant.
767	"	Aug.	6.	Mrs. Francis Wynn, Inhabitant.
768	"	"	10.	John Ewin, Infant.
769	"	"	10.	Jack Hageman, Inhabitant.
770	"	"	19.	Mr. Sarah Cross, Inhabitant.
771	"	"	21.	Hugh Barndeather, Doctor's Mate, Ship <i>Hallifax</i> .
772	"	"	29.	John Hill, Doctor's Mate, Ship <i>London</i> .
773	"	Sept.	6.	Thomas Pallison, School-master.
774	"	"	12.	Mrs. Louisa Maria Teresa Meredith, Inhabt.
775	"	"	15.	Mrs. Elizabeth Gulon, Inhabt.
776	"	"	20.	Mrs. Jane Satoor, Inhabt.
777	"	"	28.	John Stackhouse Esq.
778	"	Oct.	3.	Thos Davis, Inhabt.
779	"	"	6.	Benjamin Bens, Doctor's Mate, Ship <i>London</i> .
780	"	"	7.	Capt. Robert Castle.
781	"	"	20.	Capt. John Sowrbuts.
782	"	"	27.	Andrew William Lawman, Major.
783	"	"	27.	Thomas Hunt, Purser (sic) Ship <i>London</i> .
784	"	"	28.	Richard Patterson, Adjudant (sic.)
785	"	"	29.	Mrs. Sophia Rainbrow, Inhabt.
786	"	Nov.	10.	Robert Castle, Carpenter, Inhabt.
787	"	"	11.	Mary Dent, Inhabt.
788	1742.	Jan.	3.	Mr. Wm. Bruce, Senr. Merchant.
789	"	Feb.	4.	Mathias Rasmus, Infant.
790	"	Mar.	3.	Capt. Cland Lawrence Aliot.

771.	1744.	May	3.	Mr. Charles Brerby, Junr. Merchant.
772.	"	July	7.	Hen. Troostwyske, Infant.
773.	"	"	18.	Capt. Robt. Northley.
774.	"	"	29.	Mr. Thos. Meyrick, Comp's Cooper.
775.	"	Aug.	1.	Mr. Jas. Rogers, Pilot.
776.	"	"	1.	Capt. Andrew Sheppard.
777.	"	"	3.	Phillips Tully, Midshipman, Ship <i>Houghton</i> .
778.	"	"	27.	Mr. Tho. Bennet, Midshipman, Ship <i>Tygest</i> .
779.	"	"	31.	Sam. Riddle, Midshipman, Ship <i>Houghton</i> .
780.	"	"	31.	Doctor John Hunter, Inhabitant.
781.	"	Sept.	14.	Sam. Lane, Inhabitant.
782.	"	Oct.	1.	Hannah Fenton, Infant.
783.	"	"	6.	Wm. Hunter, Doctor's Mate, Ship <i>Houghton</i> .
784.	"	"	14.	Mr. Wm. Hillman, Pilot.
785.	"	"	23.	Robt. Mann, Infant.
786.	"	"	26.	Jno. Bignali, Inhabitant.
787.	"	Nov.	2.	Dr. Alexander Napier.
788.	"	"	13.	Susannah Stone, Infant.
789.	"	Dec.	3.	Mr. Wm. Miller, Pilot.
790.	"	"	19.	Mr. Richard Waring, Merchant.
791.	"	"	30.	Tho. Mann, Infant.
792.	1745.	Jan.	10.	Mr. Wm. Mitchell, Senr. Merchant.
793.	"	Feb.	14.	Mrs. Ella Costworth, Inhabitant.
794.	"	"	17.	Andrew Voss, Infant.
795.	"	"	20.	Mr. Moses Stepn. Holland, Ensign.
796.	"	"	27.	Sir Francis Russell, Bart.
797.	"	Mar.	3.	Mr. Henry Campion, Co. Servant.
798.	"	"	30.	Wm. Mann, Infant.
799.	"	Apr.	1.	Mrs. Cath. Male, Inhabitant.
800.	"	June	11.	Willm. Troostwyk, Infant.
801.	"	July	8.	Tho. Cook, Infant.
802.	"	"	27.	Mr. Charles Stanbury, Inhabitant.
803.	"	Aug.	13.	John Young, Infant.
804.	"	Sept.	14.	Mr. Henry Rimbold, Secretary.
805.	"	"	28.	Willm. De Voice, Inhabitant.
806.	"	Oct.	13.	Mr. Walter Currie, Doctor, Ship <i>St. George</i> .
807.	"	"	13.	Capt. Charles Ward, Inhabitant.
808.	"	"	16.	Tho. Robinson, Doctor's Mate, Ship <i>Princess Amelia</i> .
809.	"	"	31.	Mr. Dumas Malone, Co. Servant.
810.	"	"	30.	Capt. Geo. Hutton.
811.	"	Nov.	5.	Capt. Alexr. Adair, Commander, Ship <i>Winchelsea</i> .
812.	"	"	10.	Mary Sawyer.
813.	"	Dec.	2.	Mrs. Mary Coates, Inhab.
814.	"	"	3.	Mrs. Ann Gen, Inhab.
815.	"	"	7.	Capt. Willm. Harper.
816.	1744.	Jan.	18.	Jennet Alkman, Infant.
817.	"	"	25.	Mr. Abraham Otger, Senr. Merchant.
818.	"	Feb.	14.	Capt. John Fenton.
819.	"	Mar.	12.	Aona Maria Holmes, Infant.
820.	"	"	17.	Ensign William Lindsay.

821.	1744.	Mar. 23.	Mrs. Sarah Orme, Inhabitant.
822.	"	" 25.	Mr. Rebecca Hill, Inhabitant.
823.	"	Apl. 6.	Elizabeth Jacobs, Infant.
824.	"	" 9.	Samuel Trosstwyk, Infant.
825.	"	" 16.	Elizabeth Jarr, Inhabitant.
826.	"	" 17.	Sophia Rasmus, Infant.
827.	"	" 27.	Mrs. James West, Inhabitant.
828.	"	May 18.	Capt. John Hodder.
829.	"	June 3.	Mr. George Clarke, Writer.
830.	"	" 10.	Mr. Edmund Massey, Merchant.
831.	"	" 14.	Mr. Robert Crawley, Merchant.
832.	"	" 17.	Capt. Reeve, Jobbing.
833.	"	July 22.	Mr. John Cassella, Company's Servant.
834.	"	" 27.	Capt. Gabriel Steward, of ye. Ship <i>Winchester</i> .
835.	"	" 28.	William Cottle, Surgeon, Ship <i>Lopwing</i> .
836.	"	" 29.	Mrs. Mary Twiss, Inhabitant.
837.	"	Aug. 1.	Capt. Isaac Mitchel.
838.	"	" 14.	Thomas Inglis, Doctor, Ship <i>Montague</i> .
839.	"	" 14.	Michael Jackson, Midshipman, Ship <i>Prince William</i> .
840.	"	" 16.	Mr. Edward Fisher, Compa. Servant.
841.	"	" 17.	Alexr. Crasighton, Midshipman, Ship <i>Winchester</i> .
842.	"	" 20.	George Griffith, Doctor's Mate, <i>Winchester</i> .
843.	"	Sept. 10.	Mathew Dobson, Midshipman, Ship <i>Sz. George</i> .
844.	"	" 10.	Archibald Cockburn, Midshipman, Ship <i>Winchester</i> .
845.	"	" 15.	Capt. John Cress.
846.	"	" 17.	Mrs. Ann Parsons, Inhabitant.
847.	"	" 21.	Mrs. Mary Smith, Inhabitant.
848.	"	Oct. 12.	Rebecca Ann Rombold, Infant.
849.	"	" 27.	Mr. Zechz. Gee, Junr.
850.	"	Nov. 1.	Mr. William Shackleton, Ensign.
851.	"	" 12.	Mr. James Cook, Inhabt.
852.	"	Dec. 19.	Francis Vases, Inhabt.
853.	1745.	Feb. 9.	John Litrup, Inhabitant.
853A.	"	" 17.	Mr. Charles Lockyer, Factor.
854.	"	Mar. 9.	John Knox, Infant.
855.	"	" 25.	Mrs. Penelope Edge, Inhabitant.
856.	"	Apl. 14.	John Ellis, Clerk.
857.	"	May 20.	Capt. John Ewins.
858.	"	June 11.	George Carmichael, Inhabitant.
859.	"	" 25.	Mr. Joseph Coles, Inhabitant.
860.	"	" 29.	Thomas Knipe, Lieut.
861.	"	July 4.	Mr. Daniel Armstrong, Compa. Servant.
862.	"	" 11.	Mr. Thomas Webster of the Ship <i>Wager</i> .
863.	"	" 14.	Mr. Thomas Mann, Compa. Servant.
864.	"	" 15.	Mr. Daniel Berryman, Inhabitant.
865.	"	" 19.	Mr. John Alofe, Inhabitant.
866.	"	" 19.	William Darley of the Ship <i>Edgaston</i> .
867.	"	" 20.	Mr. John Phillips of the Ship <i>Wager</i> .
868.	"	" 22.	John Halsey, Esq. in Council.
869.	"	" 25.	Mr. William Durrant, Compa. Servant.

870.	1745-	July 27	Capt. Andrew Harper
871.	"	" 28	Samuel Mackenly in the Sloop's Service.
872.	"	" 30	Mr. Richard Benschler, Purser.
873.	"	Aug. 3.	Mr. James Deslisle, Inhabitant.
874.	"	" 3.	Capt. Andrew Glan.
875.	"	" 9.	William Gilmore, Inhabitant.
876.	"	" 12.	Samuel Greshler, Infant.
877.	"	" 14.	William Peiarce, Purser.
878.	"	" 25	Mr. Thomas Parker, of the Ship <i>Edgbaston</i> .
879.	"	" 31.	Capt. Henry Watta, Master in Attendance.
880.	"	" 31.	Sarah Gunby, Infant.
881.	"	Sept. 5.	Mr. Jonathan Smart, Inhabitant.
882.	"	" 10.	Capt. Stephen Cobham.
883.	"	" 13.	Mr. Francis Vane, Inhabitant.
884.	"	" 29.	Thomas Joshua Moore Esq. in Council.
885.	"	Oct. 15.	Mrs. Mary. Cahill, Inhabitant.
886.	"	" 27.	Barbara Lutton, Infant.
887.	"	Nov. 10.	Mr. George Whitwell of the Ship <i>Edgbaston</i> .
888.	"	" 23.	Lewis Soerley of his Maj's Ship <i>Medway's</i> prize.
889.	"	" 25.	Mary Greshler, Infant.
890.	"	" 27.	Mrs. Mary Twiss, Inhabitant.
891.	"	" 28.	Capt. William Tulley.
892.	"	Dec. 18.	Crooke Thomas, Lieut.
893.	1746.	Jan. 18.	James Shippey of His Maj's <i>Medway's</i> prize.
894.	"	" 28.	Edward. Pomfret Esqr. in Council.
895.	"	Feb. 2.	Cornelia Remendeah Meyer, Inhabitant.
896.	"	" 3.	James Glan, Inhabitant.
897.	"	Mar. 25.	Elieth Woolley, Infant.
898.	"	" 28.	Captain John Lloyd.
899.	"	July 25.	James Steinson, Pilot.
900.	"	" 27.	Ann Cary, Inhabitant.
901.	"	" 29.	Mary Lutton, Infant.
902.	"	Aug. 2.	Capt. Jno. Wyldbore, Inhabitant.
903.	"	" 5.	David Sealy, Infant.
904.	"	" 21.	Willm. Skillingford, Mariner.
905.	"	" 22.	William Tully, Midshipman of Ship <i>Kent</i> .
906.	"	" 26.	Francis Hogan, 3rd Mate of Ship <i>Kent</i> .
907.	"	Sept. 6.	Robt. Bennet, Inhabitant.
908.	"	" 8.	Doctor Thomas Paul, Inhabitant.
909.	"	" 11.	Mr. Jno. Reinsald, Merchant.
910.	"	" 12.	Jno. Martin, Mariner.
911.	"	" 14.	Capt. Richd. Peirce, Inhabitant.
912.	"	" 27.	Mrs. Catherine Leonard.
913.	"	" 28.	Willm. Holland, Mariner.
914.	"	" 29.	Mrs. Mary Ward.
915.	"	Oct. 1.	Jno. Bowker, Mariner.
916.	"	" 3.	Jno. Care, Inhabitant.
917.	"	" 19.	Leach Willdberg, Inhabitant.
918.	"	" 19.	Edward Shirley, Purser of his Majesty's Ship <i>Medway</i> .
919.	"	" 27.	Jno. Ramsoman, School-master of Ship <i>Preston</i> .

920.	1746.	Oct. 28.	Josh. Harn, Inhabitant.		
921.	"	" 30.	William Hutton, Mariner.		
922.	"	" 31.	Capt. James Parker, Inhabitant.		
923.	"	" 19.	Phillip Lucas, Mariner.		
924.	"	Nov. 1.	David Johnson, Midshipman of his Maj's Ship <i>Harwich</i> .		
925.	"	" 10.	Elizth. Norton, Infant.		
926.	"	" 12.	Fabon Stone, Mariner.		
927.	"	Dec. 1.	James Scott, Mate of Ship <i>Medway's Prize</i> .		
928.	"	" 6.	Bastain Hick, Infant.		
929.	"	" 18.	Jno. Strange, Sloop's Master.		
930.	1747.	Jan. 9.	James Preston, Mate of the <i>Preston</i> ...	...	Consumption.
931.	"	Mar. 21.	David Welsh, Inhabitant ...	...	Fever.
932.	"	May 11.	John Beaumont, Pilot.		
933.	"	" 24.	Mr. Ricbd. Colchester, Inhabitant ...	...	Fever.
934.	"	June 4.	William. Ern, Midshipman of the <i>Houghton Flux</i> .		
935.	"	" 8.	Mrs. Cath. Reed, Inhabitant ...	...	Fever.
936.	"	" 13.	Mr. Willm. Jermin, do. ...	...	do.
937.	"	" 15.	Elenesser Wilks, Dr's Mate of the <i>Princess of Wales</i>.	...	Flux.
938.	"	" 28.	Edward Hawkes, Midshipman of do. ...	...	do.
939.	"	July 12.	Capt. Willm. Weggerman ...	...	Fever.
940.	"	" 12.	John Ferrier, Master of one of the Sloops ...	...	Flux.
941.	"	" 17.	Mr. Willm. Watts, Chief Mate of the <i>Princess of Wales</i>. ...	...	Fever.
942.	"	" 17.	Mr. Jno. Parker, 3rd Mate of the <i>Exeter</i> ...	...	do.
943.	"	" 19.	Mrs. Reb. Male, Inhabitant. ...	...	do.
944.	"	" 21.	Capt. Thos Lewis, Inhabitant ...	...	do.
945.	"	" 21.	Mr. Jos. Mausel, Company's Servant at Fort St. George ...	...	Flux.
946.	"	" 23.	Henry Cartwright, Midshipman of <i>Exeter</i> ...	...	do.
947.	"	" 28.	Capt. Thos. Samson ...	...	do.
948.	"	Aug. 1.	Ben Kudson, Inhabitant ...	...	do.
949.	"	" 11.	Ann Gunby, Inhabitant ...	...	Fever.
950.	"	" 17.	Henry Blenney, Inhabitant ...	...	do.
951.	"	" 19.	Alexander Wood, Inhabitant ...	...	do.
952.	"	" 21.	Joseph Cummins, Inhabitant ...	...	do.
953.	"	" 25.	Mt. Saml Parker, Sub-Accountant ...	...	Consumption.
954.	"	Sept. 3.	Charlotte Drake, Infant ...	...	Convulsions.
955.	"	" 5.	William Fish ...	...	Fever.
956.	"	" 8.	Mr. Jonath. Smart, Inhabitant ...	...	do.
957.	"	" 9.	Willm. Dawson, Midshipman of the <i>Houghton</i> ...	...	Flux.
958.	"	" 16.	Henry Cave, Inhabitant ...	...	Fever.
959.	"	" 17.	Mary Holmes, Infant ...	...	do.
960.	"	" 23.	Mrs. Barbar Lutton ...	...	do.
961.	"	" 23.	Captn. Edward Fred. Reed, Gunner of Fort William.		do.
962.	"	" 29.	Martha Gumby, Infant ...	...	do.
963.	"	" 29.	Charles Savage, Inhabitant. ...	...	do.
964.	"	Oct. 11.	Mr. Geo. Hooper, Company's Servant ...	...	do.
965.	"	" 30.	Captn. Geo. Bright ...	...	Suddenly.
966.	"	Nov. 20.	John Pike, Inhabitant ...	...	Flux.
967.	"	Dec. 23.	Mrs. Mary Briggs, Inhabitant ...	...	Small Pox.

968.	1747.	Dec. 31.	Mr. Charles Beard	... .. Consumption.
969	1748.	Jan. 1.	Baker Townsend, Midshipman of Ship <i>Oxford</i> .	
970.	"	" 2.	Mary Dutton, Infant.	
971	"	" 5.	Daniel Picore, Surgeon.	
972.	"	" 5.	Bartholomew Clarke, Merchant.	
973.	"	" 14.	Mary Drake, Infant.	
974	"	" 24.	Elizabeth Martha Palmer, Infant.	
975	"	" 25.	Mr. Perry Purple Templer, Merchant.	
976.	"	" 25.	Mr. Samuel Afflick, of Fort St. George.	
977.	"	" 26.	William Fenwick, Infant.	
978.	"	Feb. 17.	George Hany, Infant.	
979	"	" 20.	Samuel Shaldrake, Esq. of Council.	
980.	"	Mar. 3.	Thomas Templer, Infant.	
981	"	" 5.	Frances Douglas, Infant.	
982.	"	" 10.	Frances Sterling, Infant.	
983.	"	" 12.	Mrs. Mary Stratton.	
984	"	" 25.	Rachael Beach Infant.	
985.	"	" 27.	John Forster Esq., late President.	
986	"	Apr. 3.	Mr. William Orme of Fort St. George.	
987.	"	" 15.	Capt. Robert Leonard, Inhabitant.	
988.	"	" 19.	John Beirwell, Mariner.	
989	"	May 7.	Thomas Johnson, Surgeon of the <i>Colchester</i> (Sic.)	
990.	"	" 16.	Mr. Henry Rawson, Inhabitant.	
991.	"	" 17.	Joseph Hook, Surgeon.	
992	"	" 22.	Mrs. Mary Wren.	
993	"	June 17.	Mr. John Couty, Surgeon.	
994	"	July 2.	John Lawhorn, Midchiefman of the <i>Enticourt</i> .	
995	"	" 22.	Mrs. Catherine Counsell, Inhabitant.	
996.	"	" 25.	Richard Dutton, Infant.	
997	"	" 25.	Mr. Lewis Singat, Surgeon.	
998	"	Aug. 8.	John Schradex, Infant.	
999	"	" 9.	Joseph Morris, 4th Mate of the <i>True Britton</i> .	
1000.	"	" 21.	Mrs. Martha Eyles, Inhabitant.	
1001.	"	" 29.	Mrs. Thomas Jarrett, Sixth Mate of the <i>Prince William</i> .	
1002.	"	Sept. 6.	Mrs. Grace Cook of Fort St. David.	
1003.	"	" 10.	Mr. Christopher Caddock, Inhabitant.	
1004.	"	" 20.	The Rev. Mr. Robert, Wynch.	
1005.	"	Oct. 2.	Mr. Wm. Chapman, Inhabitant.	
1006.	"	" 23.	Barent Keesa, Mariner, Inhabitant.	
1007	"	" 25.	Albert Hicks, Pilot.	
1008.	"	Nov. 4.	Mr. Fenwick Gollightly of Fort St. George.	
1009.	"	" 6.	John Seetls, Infant.	
1010.	"	" 12.	Mr. James Altham, Merchant.	
1011.	"	Dec. 1.	Adam Gillespie, Master of the <i>Medway's</i> prize.	
1012.	"	" 5.	James Nesley, Inhabitant.	
1013.	"	" 29.	Jacob Stephens, 3rd Mate of the <i>Exeter</i> .	
1014.	1749.	Jan. 31.	James Hyland, Mariner.	
1015.	"	Feb. 1.	Joseph, a Slave Boy belonging to Mr. Court.	
1016.	"	" 17.	Emanuel, do. do.	
1017.	"	Mar. 16.	Charles Dennet, a Company's Servant.	

1018.	1749.	Mar. 20.	James Hubbard, an Inhabitant.
1019.	"	" 25.	George Williamson, Merchant.
1020.	"	Apr. 15.	Richard Carol, Inhabitant.
1021.	"	" 17.	William Jefferies, a Mate.
1022.	"	" 28.	Nathaniel Coleman, Inhabitant.
1023.	"	May 1.	James Norman, Esquire.
1024.	"	" 5.	William Young, Inhabitant.
1025.	"	" 6.	Frances Holland, daughter of Captain Holland.
1026.	"	" 16.	John Whiting Esq.
1027.	"	" 19.	John Reed, a Volunteer.
1028.	"	" 23.	Robert Hamilton Esquire.
1029.	"	" 25.	William Preston, Mariner.
1030.	"	" 25.	Mary Mack Mahon, daughter of Jerr. Mack Mahon.
1031.	"	" 26.	Mrs. Sarah Corsely Cook, Inhabitant.
1032.	"	June 4.	Martin Bennet, Esquire.
1033.	"	" 5.	Thomas Hill, Mariner.
1034.	"	" 28.	Robert Turner, Inhabitant.
1035.	"	July 4.	Mrs. Anne Williamson, Inhabitant.
1036.	"	" 4.	Mrs. Philadelphia Parsons.
1037.	"	" 27.	William Linsey, Doctor and Inhabitant.
1038.	"	Aug. 7.	James Robinson Inhabitant.
1039.	"	" 20.	Thomas Piddington, an Infant, Son of Thomas Piddington, Inhabitant.
1040.	"	" 21.	William Garbet, Sub-Gunner.
1041.	"	Sept. 5.	Mr. Charles Bedford, Sub-Register and Inhabitant.
1042.	"	" 8.	Thomas Barbidge, Third-Mate of the <i>Walpole</i> .
1043.	"	" 13.	John Miller, Mate in the Sloop's Service.
1044.	"	" 16.	William Grauey, Midshipman of the <i>Walpole</i> .
1045.	"	" 21.	Captain Alexander Talyour, Inhabitant.
1046.	"	Oct. 1.	John Askin, an Inhabitant.
1047.	"	" 6.	Mrs. Mary Drake, Wife of Roger Drake, Esquire.
1048.	"	" 6.	William Sommers, Midshipman of the <i>Taristock</i> .
1049.	"	" 19.	John Brown, Son of John Brown, an Infant.
1050.	"	Nov. 7.	Richard Nichols, Inhabitant.
1051.	"	" 9.	William Watlington, Midshipman on of the <i>Prince William</i> .
1052.	"	" 30.	David Watts, an Inhabitant.
1053.	"	Dec. 25.	Mr. Robert Key, Ensign in the Honourable Company's Artillery.
1054.	"	" 28.	John Chivers, Sixth Mate of the <i>Taristock</i> .
1055.	"	" 29.	William Cogan, Mariner.
1056.	"	" 29.	James Denny, Ship Wright.
1057.	1750.	Jan. 30.	Thomas Gregory, Under Gunner.
1058.	"	Feb. 9.	William Green, Surgeon's Mate of the <i>Taristock</i> .
1059.	"	" 11.	Peter Anderson, Inhabitant.
1060.	"	Mar. 2.	Thomas Douglas, Mariner of his Majesty's Ship <i>Swallow</i> .
1061.	"	" 6.	Mary Sinaeck, Inhabitant.
1062.	"	Apr. 12.	Thomas Sewall, Lieutenant of the Honourable Company's Artillery.
1063.	"	" 26.	Edward Creed, Ensign in Captain Minchin's Company.
1064.	"	" 29.	William Mathews, do Fenwick's.
1065.	"	May 1.	John Goddard, Infant.

1066.	1750.	May 2.	Penslope Meredith, Inhabitant.
1067.	"	" 13.	Mr. Stephen Parrant, School-Master
1067A.	"	" "	Mr. James Innes, Steward of the Ship <i>Luparing</i>
1068.	"	June 20.	Mr. Thomas Crawford, Inhabitant.
1069.	"	" 31.	Nicholas Cancy, Infant.
1070.	"	" 30.	Thomas Walker, Pensioner.
1071.	"	July 10.	Ninian Elliot, Inhabitant.
1072.	"	" 14.	Captain Richard Hudson, Mariner.
1073.	"	" 14.	Captain William West, Mariner.
1074.	"	Aug. 20.	Mr. Nathaniel Jacobs, a Writer in the Hon'ble Company's Service
1075.	"	" 26.	Mr. Alexander Borrill, do do do
1076.	"	" 26.	Mrs. Clara Norton, Inhabitant.
1077.	"	Sept. 9.	Mr. Samuel Court, Merchant.
1078.	"	" 15.	Mr. Zachariah Geo. Merchant.
1079.	"	" 24.	John Love, Inhabitant.
1080.	"	Oct. 1.	Peter Hedleborough.
1081.	"	" 3.	John Norton, Inhabitant.
1082.	"	" 19.	Mrs. Mary Sanderson, Inhabitant.
1083.	"	" 22.	Mr. George Lethbriallier, Third Mate of the Ship <i>London</i> , drowned.
1084.	"	" 25.	Joseph Gandy, Inhabitant.
1085.	"	Nov. 10.	Mr. James Twiss, Inhabitant.
1086.	"	" 11.	Captain George Goring, Inhabitant.
1087.	"	" 21.	Margaret Campbell, Infant.
1088.	1751.	Jan. 12.	Christopher Gonby, Mariner.
1089.	"	" 14.	Mary Morgan, Infant.
1090.	"	" 27.	Alexander Campbell, Inhabitant.
1091.	"	Feb. 15.	Mr. Christopher Irwin, Surgeon and Inhabitant.
1092.	"	Mar. 26.	Mrs. Mary Meredith, Inhabitant.
1093.	"	Apr. 6.	William Finlayson, Taylor, Inhabitant.
1094.	"	May 9.	Ensign Hamlet Leigh in Capt. Fenwick's Company.
1095.	"	" 27.	Mary Shaw, Infant.
1096.	"	" 31.	John Drew, Mariner.
1097.	"	June 3.	Nesl Darrington, Inhabitant.
1098.	"	" 7.	Mr. Francis Woolaston, Comp. Servant.
1099.	"	" 23.	Cardigan Richard Dutton, Commander of a Country Ship.
1100.	"	July 14.	Joseph Fargater, Inhabitant.
1101.	"	" 28.	James Kenniday, Mariner.
1102.	"	Aug. 9.	John Pen, Inhabitant.
1103.	"	" 10.	Capt. Philip de Auvergne of Ship <i>Scarborough</i> .
1104.	"	" 10.	Mr. Charles Besonville, Company's Servant.
1105.	"	" 11.	Elizabeth Hudson, Inhabitant.
1106.	"	" 13.	Mr. John Sisson, Company's Servant.
1107.	"	" 23.	John Powers, Infant.
1108.	"	" 25.	Major John Holland.
1109.	"	Sept. 10.	James Gray, Midshipman of the <i>Scarborough</i> .
1110.	"	" 11.	Mr. Thomas Bury, Company's Servant.
1111.	"	" 13.	Robert Robertson, Pilot.
1112.	"	" 13.	Mathew Lamsdon, Mariner.
1113.	"	" 21.	Captain William Pearson.

1114	1751	Sept. 23	Captain William Milliken.
1115	"	" 24	Milo Armstrong, Midshipman of the <i>Scarborough</i> .
1116	"	Oct. 8	Mr. James Rose, Inhabitant.
1117	"	" 10	Patrick Crony, Pilot.
1118	"	" 12	John Owen, Inhabitant.
1119	"	" 13	James Wedderburn, Son of Capt. Wedderburn.
1120	"	" 16	Lieutenant John Dutton of the Military.
1121	"	" 29	Mr. William Bume, Company's Servant.
1122	"	Nov. 16	Mr. George Pattle, Company's Servant.
1123	"	" 20	Elizabeth White, Inhabitant.
1124	"	" 24	Adam Whitford, Purser of the <i>Duke of Dorset</i> .
1125	"	" 26	Capt. John Pidgeon, Under-Master Attendants.
1126	"	Dec. 2	Mary Hudson, Inhabitant.
1127	"	" 3	Charles Powers, Inhabitant.
1128	1752	Jan. 10	James Mackey, son of Capt. Mackey.
1129	"	Feb. 12	Samuel Purfield, Mariner.
1130	"	Mar. 14	Dani. Capard, Infant.
1131	"	" 18	Thomas Hamilton, Lieutenant of the Military.
1132	"	Apl. 24	Humphry Cole, Inhabitant.
1133	"	" 25	James Holmes, Infant.
1134	"	May 3	Archibald Crichton, Company's Servant.
1135	"	" 15	William Woolthead, Inhabitant.
1136	"	June 3	John Scott, Infant Son of Mr. Scott, Pilot.
1137	"	" 16	George Kidey, Mate in the Sloop's Service.
1138	"	" 20	Mr. James Ervin, Compy. Servant.
1139	"	July 11	Mr. James Fee, Mate of Capt. Duggee's Ship.
1140	"	" 31	Wm. Cowland, 2nd Mate of a Country Ship.
1141	"	Aug. 2	Adam Skinner, Capt. Clerk of the <i>Godolphin</i> .
1142	"	" 9	The Honble Wm. Pyche, Esqr., Govr.
1143	"	" 11	John Randle, Infant.
1144	"	" 17	John Barrow, Infant.
1145	"	" 20	Mr. John Negus, Compy's Servant.
1146	"	" 28	James Campbell, Mariner.
1147	"	Sept. 2	John Richmond, 6th Mate of the <i>Godolphin</i> .
1148	"	" 14	Mr. Hannah Withington, Inhabitant.
1149	"	" 15	George Tew, Inhabitant.
1150	"	" 27	Richard Law, 5th Mate of the <i>Godolphin</i> .
1151	"	" 29	Lieutenant Wm. Mackoion.
1152	"	Oct. 16	Mr. Thos. Smith, Supercargo.
1153	"	Nov. 3	Philip Williams, late an Apprentice to Mr. John Knox, Patna.
1154	"	" 24	Mr. Robert Brown, Free Merchant.
1155	"	" 25	John Jorcy, Inhabitant.
1156	"	Dec. 9	Edward Crahn, Surgeon's Mate of the <i>Oxford</i> .
1157	"	" 10	John Shephard, Mariner.
1158	"	" 15	John Contreworth, Inhabitant.
1159	"	" 18	Wm. Davenport, Keeper of the <i>Jayle</i> (sic).
1160	"	" 20	John Berge, Inhabitant.
1161	1753	Jan. 8	Richard Weston, Inhabitant.
1162	"	Feb. 20	John Iurb, Inhabitant.
1163	"	Mar. 1	Capt. David Hume.

1164.	1753.	Mar. 2	David Godard, Court Surgt.
1165.	"	" 2	Robert Ironsides, Inhabitant.
1166.	"	" 7	John Williamson.
1167.	"	" 16	George Aarrearoo, a Grecian (sic) Inhabitant.
1168.	"	Apl. 31.	Jannetta Wedderburn, Daughter of Capt. Wedderburn.
1169.	"	May 12	Edward Evans, Musician.
1170.	"	" 22	Capt. Richard Mann, Deputy Master Attendance.
1171.	"	" 31	Mr. Joseph Lowe, Comp. Servant.
1172.	"	July 8	Aux Rope, Infant.
1173.	"	" 10	Margarita Rope, Infant.
1174.	"	Aug. 2	Mrs. Elizabeth Burridge, Daughter of Joab Charnock, (sic) the first Govr of Calcutta.
1175.	"	" 31.	John Lloyd, 3rd Mate of the <i>Mountfort</i> .
1176.	"	Sept. 10.	Mrs. Jane Smart, Inhabitant.
1177.	"	" 16	Mr. William Kenn, Lieutenant.
1178.	"	" 18	Mr. Joseph Leeman, Surgeon of the <i>Mountfort</i> .
1179.	"	" 21	Thomas Slaney, Midshipman of the <i>Portfield</i> .
1180.	"	" 23	Mr. John Hall, Inhabitant.
1181.	"	" 26	Robert Rose, Mariner.
1182.	"	Oct. 1	Capt. John Cosley, Inhabitant.
1183.	"	" 12	Mr. Water Stainforth, Merchant.
1184.	"	" 13	Mr. John Hemmings, Surgeon.
1185.	"	" 16	Robert Madge, Midshipman of the <i>Mountfort</i> .
1186.	"	" 17	Wm. Newman, Midshipman of the <i>Portfield</i> .
1187.	"	" 19	Thomas Whitlash, Mariner.
1188.	"	" 26	Mr. Strutton, Mariner.
1189.	"	Nov. 13.	John Stodard, Mate in Sloops Service.
1190.	"	" 30.	Joseph Bell, Inhabitant.
1191.	"	Dec. 28	Syman Sculce, Junr., Pilot, Inhabitant.
1192.	"	" 30.	Isaac Chapman, Inhabitant.
1193.	1754	Jan. 1.	Samuel Write, died on board the <i>Prince George</i> .
1194.	"	" 5	Capt. Robert Gawsowin, and Country Captain.
1195.	"	" 25.	Robert Thrussell, Master in the Company Sloop Service.
1196.	"	Feb. 21.	William Foot, Infant.
1197.	"	Mar. 5	Mary Mackmahone, Infant.
1198.	"	" 7	Parakhar, a Grecian.
1199.	"	" 7	Daniel Dumbleton, Infant.
1200.	"	" 7	William Branchara, do.
1201.	"	" 15.	Mary Cooke, Infant.
1202.	"	" 18	Michael Carrol, Inhabitant.
1203.	"	" 26.	Elizabeth Butterwick, Infant.
1204.	"	Apl. 6.	John Jennings, Inhabitant.
1205.	"	May 1.	Mrs. Martha Bonady, Inhabitant.
1206.	"	July 14	Samuel Oliver, Merchant.
1207.	"	" 16.	Joseph Ferkyns, Infant.
1208.	"	" 30.	Thomas Alford, Lieutenant in the Train.
1209.	"	Aug. 4	Lucia Summer, Infant.
1210.	"	" 18.	James Mackey, Inhabitant.
1211.	"	" 23.	Daniel Lefebore, 5th Mate of the <i>Saint George</i> .
1212.	"	" 31.	Fremus Prem, Inhabitant.

1213.	1754.	Sept. 5.	Thomas Roope, Infant.
1214.	"	" 9.	William Newstead, Midshipman of the <i>Blowfort</i> .
1215.	"	" 11.	Thomas Flaher, Mate in the Sloop Service.
1216.	"	" 11.	Joseph Lyon, Inhabitant.
1217.	"	" 21.	Peter Webster, Midshipman of the <i>Saint George</i> .
1218.	"	" 22.	John Shepherd, Inhabitant.
1219.	"	" 25.	Sarah Derick, Infant.
1220.	"	" 25.	Thomas Norton, Midshipman of the <i>Saint George</i> .
1221.	"	" 26.	Alexander Scott, Inhabitant.
1222.	"	Oct. 9.	Charles Kington in the Hon'ble Company's Service at Madras.
1223.	"	" 10.	Charles Williams, Chief Mate of the <i>Denham</i> .
1224.	"	" 19.	Thomas Norton, Infant.
1225.	"	" 24.	Thomas Brough.
1226.	"	Nov. 7.	Daniel Payne, Invalid.
1227.	"	" 10.	Mr. Mary Vallecourt, Inhabitant.
1228.	"	" 10.	Charles Aston, Infant.
1229.	"	Dec. 5.	Mr. James Gay, Mariner.
1230.	"	" 7.	Mr. Robert Scott, Inhabitant.
1231.	"	" 7.	Dulapool Ayscough, Mariner.
1232.	"	" 13.	Thomas French, Mate of Her Majesty's Ship <i>Bridgewater</i> .
1233.	"	" 13.	Thomas Harrison, Inhabitant.
1234.	"	" 14.	Capt. Robert Felch of the Hon'ble Company's Ship <i>Armen</i> .
1235.	1755.	Jan. 2.	William Christall, Inhabitant.
1236.	"	" 28.	John Ellis, Inhabitant.
1237.	"	" 31.	Thomas Boston, Infant.
1238.	"	Feb. 2.	John Inman, Surgeon of His Majesty's Ship <i>Kingfisher</i> .
1239.	"	" 10.	Mr. Holland Goddard, Merchant.
1240.	"	" 17.	Best Michell Esq., Master and Commodore of His Majesty's Ship <i>Kingfisher</i> .
1241.	"	Mar. 26.	Mr. John Drummion, Company's Servant.
1242.	"	Apr. 23.	Ann Copper, Inhabitant.
1243.	"	" 25.	Edward Flaisted, Inhabitant.
1244.	"	May 28.	Mrs. Rachel Alexander, Inhabitant.
1245.	"	" 29.	Alexander Wilson, Inhabitant.
1246.	"	" 31.	Joseph Dunkley, Lieutenant, Invalid.
1247.	"	June 8.	William Bird, Mariner.
1248.	"	" 17.	Mary Eyte, Infant.
1249.	"	" 22.	Eleanor Douglas, Infant.
1250.	"	" 30.	Eleanor Holme, Inhabitant.
1251.	"	July 16.	Charles Wedderburn.
1252.	"	" 21.	John Weston, Mariner.
1253.	"	Aug. 14.	William Berkeley, Infant.
1254.	"	" 15.	Rachel Bowler, Inhabitant.
1255.	"	" 15.	William Wells, Lieutenant of the Artillery.
1256.	"	" 16.	Lucy Dutton, Infant.
1257.	"	Sept. 9.	Mrs. Sarah Lutton, Inhabitant.
1258.	"	" 13.	Daniel Wright, Purser of the <i>Hardwick</i> .
1259.	"	" 21.	Jane Becher, Infant.
1260.	"	" 25.	John Nicholson, Mariner.
1261.	"	" 26.	George Cox, 5th Mate of the <i>London</i> .

1262.	1755.	Oct.	1.	John Nicholls, 2nd Mate of the <i>London</i> .
1263.	"	"	8.	Michael William Howard, Mariner.
1264.	"	"	11.	John White, Inhabitant.
1265.	"	"	23.	Francis Handy, Purser of the Ship <i>London</i> , Capt. Alwight.
1266.	"	"	26.	Christopher Rains, Mariner.
1267.	"	"	27.	John Tompson Inhabitant.
1268.	"	"	29.	Charles Witherington, Infant.
1269.	"	"	29.	Susanna D'Costa, Inhabitant.
1270.	"	"	31.	Charles Desborough, Mariner.
1271.	"	"	31.	Capt. Robert Sanderson.
1272.	"	Nov.	1.	Capt. Samuel Lutton.
1273.	"	"	4.	Joseph Tompson, Inhabitant.
1274.	"	"	6.	Francis Read, Inhabitant.
1275.	"	"	6.	Richard Payne, Mariner.
1276.	"	"	8.	Mrs. Jane Douglas, Inhabitant.
1277.	"	"	10.	John Parker, Mariner.
1278.	"	"	15.	William Prosser, 3rd Mate of the <i>Amion</i> .
1279.	"	"	21.	Peter Griffin, Mariner.
1280.	"	"	22.	Captain Jasper Leigh Jones.
1281.	"	"	26.	Robert Waugh, Inhabitant.
1282.	"	Dec.	3.	Alexander Anderson, Inhabitant.
1283.	"	"	9.	Alexander Dernixoo, Infant.
1284.	"	"	29.	John Harding, Lieutenant.

Leaves from the Editor's Note-book.

— — — — —
'The time has come,' the Walrus said,
'To talk of many things :
Of shoes—and ships—and sealing wax
Of cabbages—and kings—
And why the sea is boiling hot—
And whether pigs have wings.'

THE following is the Bengali inscription on the Pearce monument in the compound of the Judge's House at Midnapur.* I am indebted to Mr. W. N. Delevingne I. C. S. who obtained for me the following transcription.

শ্রীরাম

মেন্ত জ্ঞান পিয়ার সাহেব জিলা মেদিনীপুর বারো বৎসর কেলট্রি
কাজ করিয়া সন ১৭৮৮ ইংরেজি ২০ মেই সন ১১৯৫ বাঙ্গলা ১১ জৈষ্ঠী কাল
হইয়াছে তাঁহার কবরে এই তিতি করিয়া দেয়া গেল।

The Rev. Harold Spooner, recently Chaplain of Dinapur, but now on his way to join the Persian Gulf Expeditionary Force,† has been so kind as to send me the following letter.

"Office of the Executive Engineer, Buxar Division, Dated Buxar the 25th May 1915.

From Babu Saroda Sundar Paul, Executive Engineer, Buxar Division.
To the Chaplain, Dinapur.

Sir,

In reply to your demi-official letter dated the 6th May 1915 I have the honor to state that the cemetery referred to is called the "Stud cemetery" and was in use when the Central Jail buildings were in use as a Stud farm up to the year 1860.

There are 9 graves in the Cemetery having a 3'-6" high compound walls enclosing a space of 36 ft. x 86 ft.

The Cemetery is borne in the books of the Public Works Department bearing P. W. D. No. 9 and is maintained by this Department.

Of the 9 graves in the compound the following inscription is found in one of them (also another grave stone bearing the inscription "Louisa

* See above p. 186.

† Written on July 13th, 1915.



CLOISTER OF ATALA MASJID, JAUNPUR.
Photograph by Walter K. Firminger.

Agnes Johnston daughter of Captain Johnston of H. M. 6th Regt, 1859")
 "Sacred to the memory of Benjamin Edward infant son of Emema Paris
 who died at Buxar on the 31st January 1860—Aged 1 year 3 months."

"The lovely lad so young———called him———by early———
 just come to show a proof."

There are no further records available on the subject in this office."

The following extracts from the Minutes of Consultations of the President and Council at Fort William throw some useful light on the doings of Warren Hastings in the year 1759. These extracts will serve to show the absurdity of the picturesque language employed by many writers who have described Warren Hastings as having in the early years of his service occupied very much the same position as that of a draper's assistant. I will not even in foot-notes, worry the reader with an explanation of the *adobas* referred to. For these matters the reader may be referred to the forthcoming reissue of the *Fifth Report of 1812*. The Anglo-Indian representatives of hybrid Arabic, Persian, Hindi, Turki, and Tamil technical terms are, of course, one of the many things which make an earnest study of the history of the British Raj in India a simple occupation. These lucid and in everyway delightful technical terms remind one of the following passage from *Alice Through the Looking Glass*:

"Fan her head!", the Red Queen anxiously interrupted. "She'll be feverish after so much thinking." So they set to work and fanned her with branches of leaves, till she had to beg them to leave off, it blew her hair about so.

"She's all right again now", said the Red Queen. "Do you know Languages? What's the French for fiddle-de-dee?"

"Fiddle-de-dee's not English", Alice replied gravely.

"Who said it was?" said the Red-Queen.

Alice thought she saw a way out of the difficulty this time. "If you'll tell me what language 'fiddle-de-dee' is, I'll tell you the French for it!" she exclaimed triumphantly.

But the Red Queen drew herself up rather stiffly, and said "Queens never make bargains".

"I wish Queens never asked questions", Alice thought to herself."

1.

Extract from Minutes of Consultation, dated the 4th January, 1759.

Received two letters from Mr. Hastings Moraudbaag One dated the 28th & the other the 29th Ultimo—the former requesting the Muchileka¹ & Security

1. Muchilekah—a written agreement.

to be given for the Company's Zemindarree and informing us that a special sunnud is drawn out for the free possession of Calcutta including 600 Yards beyond the Moharatta ditch for which likewise a Muchileka is to be given by the Company binding themselves to defend the Town of Calcutta likewise desiring our orders concerning the Nezaranna or Piscush to be given for the possession of the Company's Zamindarree; that upon the receipt of our letter of the 4th he had inquired of Omidroy¹ the cause of his having omitted the Rs. 34,414-2 paid by Mr. Sraffton on acct. of the Company's lands, who informed him that no such sum had been entered in the Calsa² Account but that he would make further examination into it—that Omidroy has since informed him that no notice is taken in any of the Calsa papers of any payment made by Mr. Sraffton on acct. Of the Calcutta lands—that Conjubeaharry having left his accounts in great disorder may have been the cause of this deficiency, but that as Mr. Sraffton & Conjubeaharry are in Calcutta they will be able to explain it. The other acknowledging the recet. of our letter of the 26th with the Muchilekas enclosed—and informing us that the two Sunnuds for the zemindarree & Town of Calcutta and received the Nabob's seal and remains only to be signed by the Roy Royan and to have the (illegible) of the Roy Royan's Mohrir affixed to it that the Royroyan had insisted on the Kistbundee for the Company's Revenues which he had hitherto evaded beginning (illegible) waiting our orders concerning the exemptions that he therefore requested our Instructions as soon as possible on that important point with a copy of the Treaty.

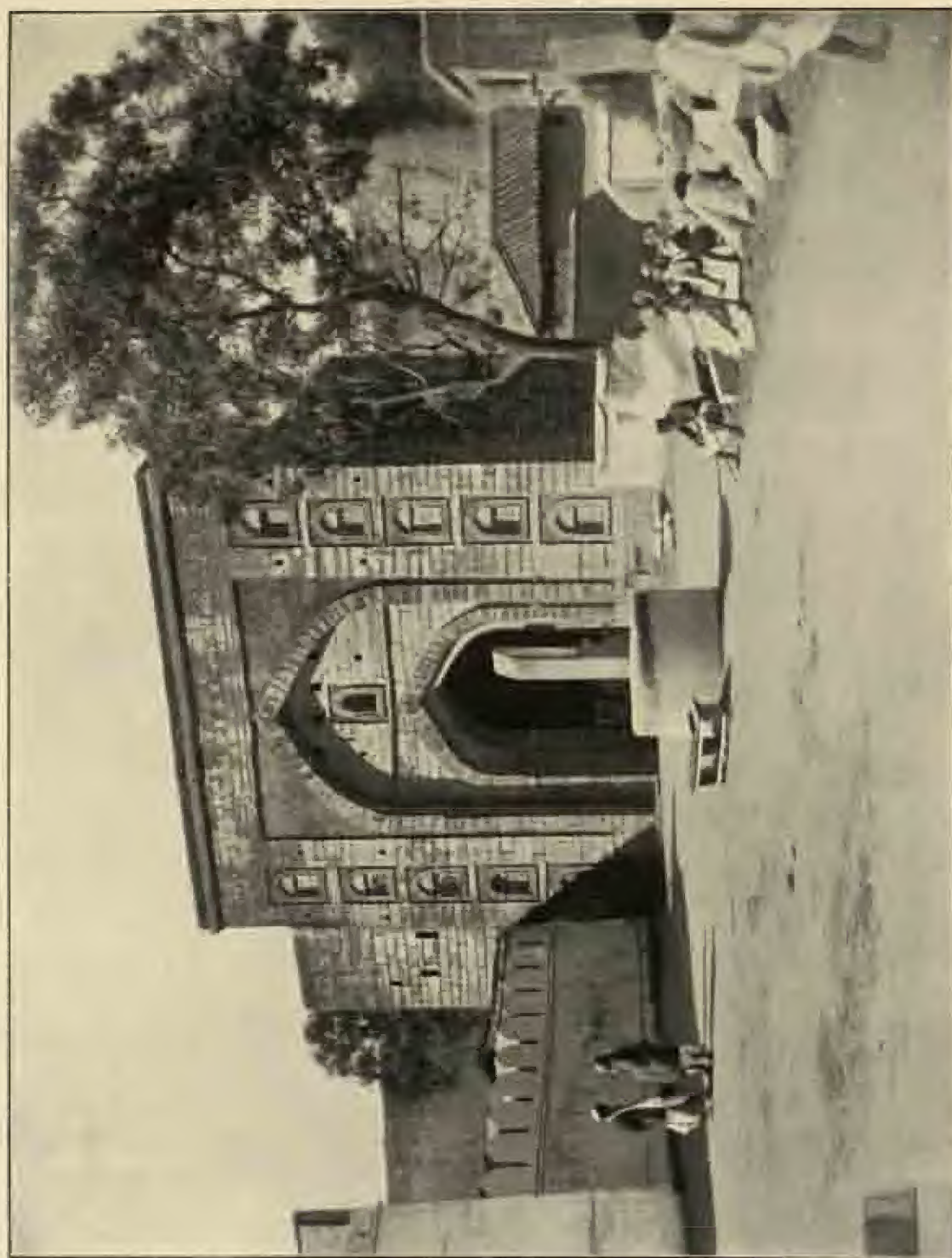
2.

Extract from Minutes of Consultation, dated the 15th January, 1759.

Received a letter from Mr. Hastings at Moraudbaag dated the 10th Inst. acknowledging the recet. of our letters of the 2d. & 6th Instant & informing us he shall tender the Conongos security according to our orders; that every arrangement has been made use of to induce the Nabob to quit the lands of Sookchur to the Company, but have proved ineffectual by reason of the Owner being much befriended by the Nabob; that the Sunnud has several days since passed the Nabob's seal, and therefore he concludes we shall not think it advisable to go over the whole business again for the sake of this affair alone, but that if we still disapprove of the seclusion of this District, it will be necessary to apply for the grant of it in a separate Sunnud; that in a former letter he has mentioned the particulars of the Kistbundee the different articles therein expressed independently of the amot. of the Sunnud are the

1. Ummid Ray, the Ray Royan.

2. Khalisah, the exchequer.



GATE OF JAUNPUR FORT.
Photograph by Walter K. Firminger.

Mahratta chout; the Khasnavice the Nezeranna Poonea; Sewy Bazyaft Sebundee; Nezeranna Mohurree, Nezeranna Munsoorgunge; & Aboab Phozdarreas; that the four last of these no ways appertain to the King's account but have been occasionally imposed on the Zemindars by the Subahs, and he thinks may with great justice be disputed by the Company and gives us an explanation of the Sewy, Chout & Khasnevesee, desiring that if it be our final determination not to allow of these additions he will acquaint the Nabob with it & with our reasons for it, and concludes with a translation of the Ninth article of the Treaty which is as follows. "The lands to the south of Calcutta as far as Culpee shall be the Zemindarree of the English Company, and the authority & government of that district shall be vested wholly in the English according to the Custom of the former zemindars they shall pay the King's Revenues."

3.

Extract from the Minutes of Consultation dated the 29th January, 1759.

Received a letter from Mr. Warren Hastings at Moradbaug dated in January informing us that he had acquainted the Nabob with our resolution to allow of nothing beyond the sum expressed in the sunnud which information the Nabob received with manifest signs of discontent and insisted strongly on his right to the separate articles particularly the Chout, & Khasnevesee; that after many Consultations with the Roy Royan & his other Mutsuddees* upon this subject the Nabob seems inclinable to submit the decision of [illegible] to us; that the principal points the Nabob seems to contend for are the Suvy, Chout, Khasnevasee & Naz Poonea; that for the Nabob's sentiments on this subject he refers us to his own letter to the President which he has sent by Cossinaut,¹ who with the Sunnud left this place this morning; that, the collection of the small remainder of the Company's Tuncaws² being attended with great difficulties and occasioning perpetual disputes betwixt the Company's people & those sent by the Government upon their several claims on the Zemindars, he has at length after many fruitless attempts prevailed on the Nabob that it should be paid out of his Treasury, and that since the Roy Royan & Raja Bullub have given him separate obligations for the payment of the ballances due on the Calaa & Jaguir³ account & Koenoram⁴ for that of Boozurgomiedpoor⁵ to be made within the space of two months

* Mutsuddi, a clerk.

1. Rasi Nath.

2. Tankhwah—assignments of revenue.

3. Jagir.

4. Kanna Ram.

5. Boazurgomiedpoor. See Beveridge *Baharganj*, p. 94 et seq; Seton-Karr *Selections*, p. 183 Long *Selections*, p. 405.

that according to the latest payments the Accounts with the Zemindars stand as follows vizt.

Due on the Calsa Account.

From Jessore ...	...	16910	14	3
Rokkunpore ...	...	6427	10	3
Goongur ...	...	16360	7	6
Radshawee ...	...	11907	13	"
Futtijungpoor ...	...	5448	15	"
				<u>57065 12 "</u>

Due on the Jaguir Account

Chunderdeep ...	...	19421	14	3
Serail ...	...	6500	"	"
Sundeeep ...	...	6312	"	"
				<u>32233 14 3</u>
From Backergunge ...	...			<u>56000 " "</u>
				<u>145309 10 3</u>

Which accommodation he hopes we shall approve of, most of the outstanding ballances appearing scarcely recoverable when he took the charge of this business.

4-

Extract from Minutes of Consultation, dated the 26th February, 1759.

Received a letter from Mr. Warren Hastings at Moraudbaag dated the 20th inst. enclosing a translation of the Sunnud for the lands and informing us that the Sunnud for the free tenure of the Town of Calcutta &c. will be forwarded with all possible expedition.

5-

Extract from Minutes of Consultation, dated the 12th March, 1759.

Received two letters from Mr. Hastings at Moraudbaag dated the 5th & 8th inst. the former enclosing a copy of the Kistbundee as settled with the Roy Royan amounting to Rs. 98,468, as 4, gs 16 which with 20,101 Rs. due on acct. of the Pishcush makes a ballance of Rs. 1,18,569-4-16 due on the Zemindarree Account, and advising us that the ballance of the last year was Rs. 75,396-1-13-1; that he is now drawing out the account of that ballance with the particulars from the several zemindars accounts current signed by their own hands, which he will forward for our inspection; that there is a Custom of 6-4 p. mille taken from all sums paid into the Nabob's Treasury as a fee to the Treasurers &c. which perquisite is paid by all other zemindars and desires our determination whether the Hon'ble Company ought to be charged with it; that the proprietors of several small Talucks bordering



TOMBS OF THE SHARQI KINGS. JAUNPUR.
Photograph by Walter K. Firminger.

upon the lands of the Honble Company have made great complaints that the most profitable part of their lands being become the property of the Company, the income of the remainder is not sufficient to pay the rents due to the Government, that to put a stop to these complaints the Roy Royan has proposed that the Company undertake the collection of the Revenues of the said Talucks and be responsible, for the same as the wadadar¹ of those lands, and requests our answer; the names of the Talucks are-

Perguna of Ballia,² the Taluck of Kissonchurn &ca.

Perguna of Havellesheshr³ Do. Dirpnarain

Kissmut Do. of Do. Do. Chundechurn

Perguna of Hatcunda Do. Sumboochund

Toppee Sottulb.

Perguna of Khaspoor the Taluck of Rajaram;

That the Roy Royan has made a demand for the payment of part of the ballance due on the Kistbundee which Mr. Hastings has declined, as he understands from Nuncomar that there has been a deficiency in the Hughley Tuncaw of two Laack of Rs.; that ballance was to be transferred to the Company Zemindarree Accot. That he has agreed to pay 20,101 Rs. which were due on accot. the Pishcush, which he hopes we shall approve; that by orders of the President he has advanced Seivtaran Bose & Gopeechurn Sircar Sicca Rs. 3000 for the provision of boats for the Hon'ble Company's Troops.

Mr. Wilmot Cornfield sends me a copy of a holograph letter of the Rev. John Owen, of whom a sympathetic account will be found in Archdeacon Hyde's *Parochial Annals of Bengal*. The name of the person to whom the letter is addressed does not appear.

Calcutta, March 10, 1753.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have much reason to take shame to myself that I have not long before this thanked you from this distant country for the many civilities you were pleased to show me. The honour of your acquaintance I prize much more highly than I can express and grievously shd. I be mortified were I to forfeit it by my negligence. My progress through life serves daily to convince me of the great happiness and benefit of having access to such persons, nor do I know a circumstance in life I covet more than to be permitted sometimes to enter your doors shd. I again inhabit the same country.

My voyage to India was prosperous, on my arrival here I was appointed chaplain to the Garrison of Fort William, and lately on the departure of one of the chaplains to the Presidency I was appointed to succeed him not indeed in my turn for I had several of my brethren here who were my seniors.

1. Wad'dahdar. An officer responsible under bond (*me dahi*) for the collections of the revenue of a Zamindar.

2. Ballia.

3. Hahshahar.

There are two of us belonging to the Presidency, our duty and our salaries are equal, the latter is somewhat better than a thousand pounds per ann. I have lived a little out of the Town with a particular friend Mr. Richard Johnson, a gentleman of the first qualities both intellectual and moral. Everything that this sultry climate admits we possess. My health has not always been the best but by exercise and moderate living I manage to rub on nearly as well as my neighbours. What you call health in England seems to be pretty generally unknown here. The languor of the climate is excessive but as the European inhabitants of this part of India are generally as to age in the prime of life, perhaps the proportion of deaths is not much greater than in colder countries. I am a member of a tontine which has now been instituted 3 years, there are upwards of a hundred persons who are members of it, and there has not in that space one of them died. Formerly the mortality in Calcutta was excessive, they fed worse, and lived in lower roomed houses. The immediate vicinity of the town to the south from whence the wind blows during the rains and the hot months that precede them has been cleared, people live in good houses, and do not now so frequently die.

I am afraid I have not the good fortune to be remembered in the faintest manner by that excellent man Dr. Sharp, otherwise I shd. entreat you to present my best respects to him, it is with the sincerest wishes for the happiness of you both that

I have the honor
to be
with the highest esteem
Dear Sir,
Your most faithful and obedt. servt.

JOHN OWEN.

From Volume IV of the *Selections from the Calcutta Gazetteer* I gather the following advertisement which belongs to the year 1810.

FOR SALE

SODA WATER FROM SCHWEPPE & CO.

Jas. Taylor & Co., have for sale a small quantity of Soda Water in some quarts and pints, imported on the *Lord Keith*.

I turn to the *Everyman Encyclopædia*, the only Encyclopædia I possess, but although I find in it an article on Aerated Water, I can find nothing to enlighten me as to the history of Soda Water in general or of Messrs. Schweppe & Co's product in particular. Soda Water has doubtless an important place of its own in the history of Calcutta, so I will make no apology for reproducing the following advertisement made in March 1813.

SODA WATER CHARGED WITH FIXED AIR, AT A REDUCED PRICE.

Messrs. Gould and Campbell respectfully inform the public that they have received a quantity of SODA WATER, in strong glass pint bottles, in the best possible order: every bottle warranted to effervesce when the cork is drawn, and which they are authorized to offer for sale Ten Rupees per Dozen.

N. B.—Two Rupees per dozen will only be allowed for empty glass bottles after this date.

A year later, Messrs. Tulloch & Co. "beg respectfully to inform the public that they are appointed sole agents for the sale of the Bengal Soda Water Manufactory, and to assure them that every attention will be paid to have it all times of good quantity. They have also received a supply made from the Rain water, since the weather became cooler, which will be found better than that which has been lately offered for sale."

The *sancta simplicitas* of the advertisement last quoted recalls the sweet reasonableness of the modern Ships' Steward, who, before leaving Calcutta, lays in a supply of Calcutta aerated water at six annas per dozen, in the firm but humble expectation that ere the Red Sea is reached and the stock of Schweppe is reported to have been exhausted the thirsty passenger will gladly purchase the Calcutta product at the rate he has been prepared to pay for Schweppe's. Would that were more of such candid trusting creatures in this far too complex world!

As a Railway line is soon to be established between Kalighat and Fulta, the following advertisement (of 1814) will be of interest, not only to the shareholders, but to students of Rudyard Kipling:

FULTAH FARM AND TAVERN.

For private sale, that well-known and long-established Concern, at present conducted under the Firm of Higginson and Baldwin.

Most eligibly situated at Fultah, contiguous to the river, and which has for many years enjoyed the greatest celebrity as a Farm, and the highest reputation as a Tavern, comprehending the well-arranged suite of buildings, as they now stand, with the extensive and beautiful grounds, appertaining thereto, most advantageously laid out, and embracing all the objects of Establishment, together with or without the whole of the Farming Utensils and Live Stock in Trade, and the entire Fittings-up as a Tavern, on the most extensive scale for the general resort of passengers to and from Calcutta.

For further particulars, enquire of Mr. Higginson, No. 16, Chowringhee Road.

In Vol. IX (facing p. 216) of *Bengal Past and Present* was included a photo of the bust of the first Lord Minto presented by the late Viceroy to replace the bust of his Ancestor destroyed by the earthquake of 1897. The following correspondence relates to the subject. It is interesting to notice that Lord Minto dated his letter from "Chouringhee." It is to be observed that Lord Moira [the Marquess of Hastings] the incoming Governor-General set foot at Chand Pal Ghat on Monday, October 4th, and proceeded in state to

Government House where he assumed charge of his great office. Lord Minto was present at the landing of the *General Kyd* on November 9th, 1813, an occasion when "almost all the beauty, rank, and position of Calcutta" sat down "to an elegant and well furnished set of tables, laid with upwards of 400 covers" to discuss "choice and well cooled wines" and "viands excellent." The fact that relieved Governors-General stayed on in Calcutta for a time after the arrival of their successors may perhaps account for the quite impossible claims put forward on behalf of a number of old houses to rank as "former Government Houses."

*Address of the Select Vestry of St. John's Church to EARL OF
MINTO, with His Lordship's Answer,*

To The Right Honorable the EARL OF MINTO.

MY LORD,

On the occasion of your Lordship's approaching departure from India, permit us, the Select Vestry of St. John's Church, to express our sentiments of respect for your Lordship's person, and the gratitude we feel for the alterations and improvements of the Church, which have been executed under your Lordship's auspices.

We have the satisfaction of assuring your Lordship, that public opinion is in perfect unison with our own on the improved convenience and general appearance of this sacred Edifice.

In requesting the favor, which we have the honor to solicit from your Lordship, we are influenced by another and very powerful motive, namely, your Lordship's eminent example in regularly attending Divine Worship, and countenancing, by your presence, the observance of the Sabbath Day, and the Services of our venerable Church.

In your Lordship's exalted station, it were almost needless for us to say, how greatly such an example has contributed, and we venture to add, ever will contribute, towards the preservation and increase of true Religion, the extension of the blessings of Christianity, and the maintenance and prosperity of the Established Church of our Country.

These considerations have induced us to signify a wish, that your Lordship would be pleased to favor us with a Bust of your Lordship, to be placed on the Pedestal in the angle of the stair-case leading to the south gallery, recording the enlargement and improvement of the Edifice under your Lordship's auspices, and corresponding with that of the Most Noble the Marquis Cornwallis, in the north stair-case of the Church.

In thus endeavouring to perpetuate your Lordship's name in St. John's Church, we discharge a duty grateful to our own feelings and, we respectfully hope, in a manner which will ensure to us the favor we have the honor to solicit.

With the highest respect and esteem, we have the honour to remain,
my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient and faithful servants,

		J. WARD, <i>D. D., Senior Chaplain,</i>		
		H. SHEPHERD, <i>Junior Chaplain,</i>		
		R. M'CLINTOCK,		
VESTRY ROOM,	}	W. MORTON,	{ <i>Church.</i>	
OCT. 6, 1813.		G. CRUTTENDEN,		{ <i>Wardens.</i>
		R. CAMPBELL,		

{ 2 }

To the Select Vestry of St. John's Church.

GENTLEMEN,

I am very highly gratified by the favourable sentiments you have been pleased to convey to me, in your address of the 6th instant. It is indeed impossible that I should not set a just value on the esteem of your body; whether I consider the sacred and interesting objects of its institution, or the respectable persons of whom it is composed.

That the improvements, both in accommodation and appearance, of St. John's Church, which have lately been accomplished should have fallen within a period, during which the influence of the situation I have filled, could contribute to so worthy and desirable an object, I account a fortunate occurrence in my administration. But I should sacrifice truth to a selfish pride, if I did not acknowledge with satisfaction, that the Congregation of St. John's Church, and the Public of the City, are indebted for so great an advantage, to the zealous care of the Vestry itself, and more especially to the earnest and unwearied exertions, directed by the correct judgment of the Revd. Dr. Ward, Senior Chaplain at the Presidency, and the first member of your Body.

Bearing, as I am happy to do, this just and merited testimony, I may freely profess without offence to personal modesty, my entire concurrence in the sentiments which you truly ascribe to the public at

large, in consideration of the substantial amelioration which has taken place, both in the convenience now afforded for public worship, and in the decent and suitable splendour of a church, which in some senses may perhaps be deemed Metropolitan to the whole Christian community of India.

That any part of my conduct, although no more in truth than the discharge of a duty, for which its own intrinsic obligation could scarcely leave room for any collateral motive, however worthy, should be connected in your minds with the advancement of Religion, and the promotion of its pious observances is, I confess, more acceptable than any other tribute I could have received of your esteem.

I accede with grateful pleasure to your request for my Bust. If it should tend to prolong in your minds, sentiments in any degree corresponding to those with which I part from a community, in whose devotions I have so long partaken, my sincere and cordial wishes will be accomplished; while my association, even partial and accidental, with the venerable Founder of your Church, the wise and virtuous Marquis of Cornwallis, will constitute a principal pride of my late station.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect and regard,

GENTLEMEN,

Your obedient and faithful humble Servant,

CHOURINGHER,
11th Oct. 1813. }

MINTO

The following extract from the *Calcutta Gazette* might give rise to an interesting controversy.

Fort William, 14th January 1813.

A dispatch from the Superintendent of Nizamut affairs at Moorsshedabad has been received by the Right Hon'ble the Governor General in Council, announcing the melancholy event of the decease of Her Highness the Munny Begum, widow of the late Nabob Jafer Alli Khan, ancestor of the reigning Nabob of Bengal, on the morning of the 10th instant.

Her Highness's remains were interred with the honors due to her exalted rank in the evening of the same day at a mosque in the city of Moorsshedabad.

In testimony of respect to the memory of Her late Highness the Munny Begum, the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council has been pleased to direct that minute guns to the number of ninety,

answering to the years of the deceased, he fired from the ramparts of Fort William at four o'clock this evening, the flag being hoisted halfmast high.

Published by command of the Right Hon'ble the Governor General in Council.

G. DOWDESWELL,

Chief Secy. to the Govt.

Contrast with the above the following from Beale's *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (New Edition revised by H. G. Keene 1894.)

Munni Begam a concubine* of Mir Ja'far, Nawab of Bengal. After his death, and the death of his two sons Najm-uddaula and Saif-uddaula, she was appointed guardian to Mubârik-uddaula, the infant son of the late Nawab by Warren Hastings, in preference to others whose claims were more plausible. The guardianship was taken away from the Begam in A. D. 1776. She was the mother of Najm-uddaula. She died A. D. 1779, Sha'bân, A. H. 1103.

The late Babu Purna Chandra Majumdar, a well-beloved member of our Society, in his *Musnud of Murshidabad* (p. 133) gives April 1812 as the date of the Begam's death. Sydney C. Grier writes (*Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife* p. 229): "When Lord Valentia saw her, she confessed to being sixty-eighty, but must have been much older, for in 1813 Toone mentions that Munny Bigham died on January 10th, at the age of ninety-seven".

In January 1806, Mr. Richmond Thackeray, the father of the Novelist, was expecting a transfer, and the sale of his property "at his house in Chowringhee" is announced by Messrs. Lawtre & Gould to take place on Friday the 10th of January. The property comprised:—

Very handsome new Plate and Plated-ware, of the most useful kinds; Persian Scimitars and Poniards, in velvet Scabbards, very richly mounted in silver; dress and other Swords and Fire Arms; a handsome Ebony Portable Desk, richly ornamented and mounted in solid silver; a large Mahogany Box of Reeves's Colors, with silver mountings; an excellent Library of Books; Ackermann's collection of beautiful Engravings, for 1804-5, exquisitely colored and highly finished, in large vellum Port Folios, richly gilt and lettered,

* The common fallacy which refuses Munni Begam the title of wife is based on an ignorance of the marriage law of the Mohammedan community to which Mir Ja'far belonged.

imported on one of the last ships, and cost upwards of 100 Guineas; a capital patent Saloon Organ, with fine Barrels, of the latest and most approved Tunes, having the Flageolet, Tabor, Drum, Triangle, Diapason Principal, Twelfth and Flute Stops; very fine Statues in Plaister of Paris; handsome plated mounted double and single branch Wall Shades, and large hanging Vase Lamps, with plated rims, boxes, chains, complete; valuable Paintings, Prints, and Convex Mirrors, in rich burnished gold frames; very fashionable Household Furniture, in white and gold and in Mahogany, Ebony, and other handsome Wood; Carpets; Settringees; and a variety of other articles.

Likewise, his Coach and valuable Carriage and Saddle Horses, viz:—

The young very active, and highly dressed, light grey Arab Saddle Horse "*Nimble*" 14½ hands high, moves in an elegant style, shows much blood, has a fine generous temper, and is believed perfectly sound, wind and limb.

A young and handsome dark Iron Grey Saddle Horse, half Arab, 15 hands high, has good temper, and promises well.

A handsome little Chesnut Mare that has been rode by a lady, and believed to be perfectly sound and quiet.

A pair of strong and very beautiful young Dark Chesnut Carriage Horses, above 15½ hands high, an excellent match, sound and quiet, go in good style, having been trained with the utmost attention and care, and are worthy the attention of any Gentleman in want of a pair of horses of this description.

A handsome Europe built Coach, body painted a Dark Brown, ornamented with double plated beading and lined with yellow Cloth, lamps in front, and suitable carriage part.

Four volumes of the Bengal District Records Series* have now appeared, and a fifth may be expected very shortly from the press. Two of the volumes already published are concerned with Midnapur—one of the three districts ceded to the Company in 1760. It is somewhat surprising that in the early English records of the Midnapur District scarcely anything is to be found that relates to the Midnapur Zamindari Family. There are just a few references to the Rani Siromani,† who is accused of sheltering dakoits, and that is practically all. From Mr. L. S. S. O'Malley's *Gazetteer of Midnapur*, I learn that the Rani was one of the two wives of Ajit Singh of Karnagarh, who was the descendant of a treacherous Dewan of the Jungal chief, the Kharia Raja,

* The volumes may be obtained through Messrs. Thacker Spink & Co.

† Rani Swarnamay, (Hunter).



THE ROYAL EXCHANGE. TRADITIONALLY THE HOUSE OF CLIVE & PHILIP FRANCIS.
ERASED JUNE—JULY, 1915.

to whose dominions Midnapur once belonged. It is said that Ajit Singh died in 1753, and his two wives succeeded to the Raj. At a date now unknown, the two Ranis fled before the *Chuars*, who under their chief, Gobardhan Sardar, took possession of Midnapur, and in 1756, the year of the Siege of Calcutta, they entered into an agreement with Trilochun Khan of Narajol by which, in return for suppression of the *Chuars* and the restoration of Midnapur to the Ranis, the Raj of Midnapur was to accrue to the Narajol Rajas on the death of the last surviving Rani. The Rani Bhawani died in 1760. So late as 1799 the Rani Siromani is found mixed up in a *Chuar* rebellion.

Jaunpur is so close to the borders of the province of *Bengal Past and Present* that I have ventured to include in the present number some illustrations of the architecture of that most picturesque city. To any one who has visited the Adina Masjid at Panduah the style of the Jaunpore buildings must be of the greatest interest. Among the illustrations in the present number will be found a view of Philip Francis' town house, which is now in course of demolition.

Of Monday, August the 15th, 1757, Surgeon Ives writes: "this was the most sultry day I ever experienced in India; not a breath of air was there for many hours; both man and the very fowls of the air, so sensibly felt it, that some of each species fell down dead." On such a day, I conclude my contributions to the tenth volume of *Bengal Past and Present*,* and in so doing, suggest the following most distressingly difficult examination question for students of Calcutta history to discuss: *vis*—

1. Where was Frasersganj, and for what reasons was it celebrated?

June 8th 1915.

WALTER K. FIRMINGER.

* Surgeon Ives' plan for cooling a room was to "fumigate" it with vinegar and lemon.

Members' Note Book.

MR. A. F. C. de Cosson gives the following list of graves at Suez (1840-1866):—

- (1) John Bonny, 1840.
- (2) Algernon Golding Brenchly, Cornet H. Ms. 4th. Light Dragoons 1841.
- (3) Henry J. Young, of H. Co.'s Ship *Atlanta*, 1849.
- (4) John Augustus Drummond Forbes, son of John Forbes, 3rd. Bombay Cavalry, 1856.
- (5) William Millard, late S.S. *Bengal*, 1857.
- (6) Frances Jane Carnegie, wife of Captain Alexander Carnegie, Bombay Army, 1857.
- (7) Mary, wife of Major Stovell M.D., Bombay Army, 1858.
- (8) Brevet Major John George Disbrowe of H. Ms. 43rd. Light Infantry, 1828-1860.
- (9) Joseph Leachman, 186?
- (10) Herbert Cander de Condé, 1866.
- (11) Maria Gibbas, (no dato).
- (12) Thomas Sorell, "
- (13) John Gegra, "
- (14) Thomas Watts, "

The same writer sends us the following note on "TELIAGHARI FORT, THE KEY OF BENGAL, AND THE OLD RIVER ROAD." Some years ago (*vide Bengal Past & Present*, Vol. V, 1909) I wrote of the fort of Teliaghari stating that I could find out nothing about its history. Since then I have read Mrs. Annette S. Beveridge's translation of the *Humayun Nama* by Gul-Baden Begam, where there is an interesting reference to this old Bengal fort.

When Humayun became Emperor in 1530 he gradually lost all the provinces gained by his father the Emperor Babar. One of the persons acting against him was Sher Shah Afghan in Bengal who by 1532 had obtained possession of the country as far west as Chunar.

Humayun's campaign against Sher Shah started successfully with the recapture of Chunar in 1536; and, after taking Benares, he advanced towards Gaur. In the meantime Sher Shah retired to join his son Jilal Khan, who was with Khawas Khan at Gaur. Sher Khan sent them out, and said, "Go

and fortify Ghari. Both came and occupied Ghari." The Ghari referred to was Teliaghari, "the Gate of Bengal." Humayun wrote to Jahangir Beg Qochin, "Advance a stage, and go up to Ghari. There was fighting, and Jahangir Beg was wounded and many men were slain," says Gul-Baden Begam. The Emperor was at Colgoong at the time of this fight and after spending three or four days there, found it advisable to march on. He halted near Teliaghari; and, on his advancing nearer, Sher Shah and Khawas Khan fled by night, and Humayun entered the fort next day. I presume this must have been in 1536 or 1537.

Humayun shortly afterwards took Gaur and renamed it Jannatabad (the City of Paradise). Here he spent many months devoted to pleasure, his army "perishing in great numbers in that sink of fever and corruption." In the meanwhile Sher Shah was regaining his prestige and gathering his forces between Gaur and Delhi and at the same time Hindal was in open rebellion against his brother, the Emperor. The Emperor advanced from Gaur in 1539 by the left (or Purnia) bank of the Ganges as far as Monghyr where he was asked by his Amirs to take the right bank, "lest Shir Khan should say, forsaking his road of advance, he took another of retreat." As matters turned out Humayun was defeated by Sher Shah at the battle of Chausa in 1539 on the right bank of the Ganges,— "such was God's will," says the Begam. The Emperor and his sister Gul-Baden and others escaped, but many were slain or captured. Mrs. Beveridge makes a slight error in describing Chausa as being near where the river Sone falls into the Ganges. The river is, of course, the Karmnasa.

If the fort at the pass of Teliaghari was really built by Sher Shah, and not merely strengthened by him, we obtain the date of its construction. I considered it of an earlier date as the Pass must have been always a strong position worth fortifying. Sir W.W. Hunter in the *Gazetteer*, says it was constructed, but never finished, by a Teli zamindar who was forcibly converted by the Mahomedans in the eighteenth century, but he gives no date or names. He adduces the name Teliaghari from this fact, and I prefer his rendering of the name. Mrs. Beveridge uses the spelling Teriaghari. Plaisted's map (1737) spells it Teliagan, and Orme's map (1804) shows Tacragully, while locally, Hunter's spelling applies. In the sixteenth century it was known as Ghari, so that Hunter's information regarding the fort having been built in the eighteenth century does not appear to be correct.

I give these details, as previously I made the plan of the fort, (published in *Bengal Past & Present*), in order that this rapidly crumbling structure may have some record devoted to it. Up to 1909 it certainly had not been conserved by the Archaeological Department. Perhaps the records of the Asiatic Society may enlighten us regarding its history.

The old River Road which passes through Teliaghari ran from Murshidabad to Benares, Patna and Bhagalpur. When the Grand Trunk Road was built in the thirties of the last century, this old road fell into disuse and at the present day is well-nigh obliterated in many parts. I like to recall the traffic which must have passed along it in the days of its importance. The armies, the Palkee Dawks with the accompanying bearers, the banghy-burdars and the masalchis. The very words have dropped out of use. In those spacious days the masalchi carried torches or lamps, now he has degenerated into washing plates,—and the River Road is merely a name. Historically interesting in the 16th. and 17th. centuries, it was a busy thoroughfare in the 18th, sharing with the River the up-country traffic.

I know something of this road between the bridge of Dakra Nala near Monghyr, and Rajmahal. From Monghyr it passes Pirpahar, Sultanganj, Bhagalpur and Colgong, all once places where Europeans built palatial houses and indigo-factories. Between Colgong and Pirpainti is the *Boran*, a series of weedy waterways, said to be the ancient bed of the Ganges, where fifty or sixty years ago rhino were shot, and now consecrated to wild-fowl and muggar. At Pirpainti is an isolated graveyard, and Samuel Middleton's monument on the top of a hill. The road follows close under the dark outlying spurs of the Santal hills, among bamboo clumps, and occasionally passes the boundary pillars of the Daman-i-Koh. Then comes the Fort of Teliaghari at the foot of a promontory of the hills, once situated on the main stream of the Ganges. Seven miles beyond is Sahebgang with its old Indigo Factory near a great earth fort surrounded by a moat, the history of which I know nothing. The road hereabouts is often obliterated in the rice-fields and by the rains of many years. Sakrigali, marked as quite important on all the old maps, is another pass at the foot of a great bluff of the hills, where there are signs of ruins. Beyond is an old Mohamedan bridge now almost buried in the mud, which crosses the stream which comes over Motijharna Waterfall in the rains. Then comes Taljhari where the C.M.S. Mission have a church, and Mangal Hat with its great ruined mosque and fine old bridge. The ruins that follow illustrate the extensiveness of Rajmahal of old, now only a village. The only building of interest is the Singhi Dulan. The road beyond Rajmahal passes near the battlefields of Udwa Nala and Gheria.

The same writer also notes:—With reference to *Bengal Past & Present*, Vol. XI, page 255, an accidental error has been made in attributing the Showers monument (of 1815) to Giuseppe Bonomi the elder who died in 1808. It is the work of Joseph Bonomi the son of Giuseppe. Joseph Bonomi the younger was my mother's father, so perhaps I may be forgiven

for giving details of a family which was not altogether unconnected with India.

Giuseppi Bonomi (1739—1808) the Italian architect was asked by the celebrated brothers James and Robert Adam to go to England in 1797. He worked with them in London for many years. He married Rosa Florini, a cousin of the celebrated paintress, Angelica Kaufmann R. A. in 1773. He was elected an A. R. A. in 1789 (not 1790) and was a very intimate friend of Sir Joshua Reynolds. When the Academicians refused to elect Bonomi an R. A. (or, as Bryan has it, Professor of Perspective,) Sir Joshua resigned his Presidency, but was persuaded to resume it later.

Bonomi the elder had many children, though some died young. The survivors were :

(1) John James Bonomi, born 1782, entered the Army and went to India. Was Adjutant of the 5th Native Cavalry and was killed at the battle of Assaye, on the 23rd Sept. 1803. Mentioned in despatches by General Sir Arthur Wellesley.

(2) Ignatius Bonomi, (1787—1870) Architect to the County of Durham, married Charlotte Fielding.

(3) Charles Bonomi, (1789—1825) entered the Army and served in the Peninsular War as Assistant Commissary General, was severely wounded, I think at Corunna. Married in 1811 a Portuguese lady, Anna Rita de los Santos, having one son, the Rev. John Bonomi D. D. (1816—1872) Vicar General of Clifton.

(4) Joseph Bonomi, F. R. A. S., F. R. S. L. (1796—1878) the sculptor of the Showers monument in St. John's, Calcutta. Was educated at Carshalton and afterwards in the R. A. Schools and under Nollekens. In 1823 he went to Rome to study sculpture. In 1824 he went to Egypt with Robert Hay, and stayed there till 1834 excavating monuments, copying hieroglyphics and paintings. Much of his work of those years and later and also his work at Nineveh and Babylon is now in the British Museum. He penetrated into Nubia with Linant, and was the first European (in native dress) to enter the Holy Sepulchre, which he measured. In those days it was dangerous even to approach the Holy Sepulchre, but, being a dauntless traveller and a good linguist, he passed as a Mohaniedan. He returned to Egypt with Lepsius in 1842 and stayed in that country till 1844. He had given up sculpture for egyptology and published and illustrated several books, and died Curator of Sir John Soane's Museum. He married Jessie, the daughter of John Martin the painter, in 1845. The Martins were intermarried with the Cunninghams and Colvins. Joseph Bonomi has three children living. (1) Lt. Col. Joseph Bonomi of the K. O. Royal Lancashire Regiment who served in the Zulu War, and in India, and volunteered in the S. A. War, and in the present War, and now commands a battalion; the span between him and his

uncle who was killed 112 years ago under Wellington is noteworthy. (2) A daughter, Cecilia, married the Baron de Cosson F. R. G. S., F. S. A., whose great-grandfather was guillotined in 1794, the latter's son escaped to England, entered the Hussards de Hompesch (now the 10th), and married in 1810, Ann Nash of Woodstock, Oxon.

The Rev. Father H. Hosten, S. J., writes:—A few days ago one of my friends lent me a copy of E. S. Wenger's *List of Tombs or Monuments in Bengal of historical or archaeological interest* 1895.

I am told that the compiler was Edward S. Wenger, and that the work was superseded by C. R. Wilson's *List of Inscriptions on tombs or monuments in Bengal possessing historical or archaeological interest*, Calcutta:—Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India, 1896.

Since Wenger's work remained unpublished and only a very few copies appear to have got into circulation, a description of the book will be of interest to the bibliophile. Though it has no indication of its provenance, I may say that the type is identical with that in C. R. Wilson's *List*; the size of the volume is about the same. It is 35.4 × 21.5 cm.

Contents: pp. 2 (unnumbered): Table of Contents for the list of Tombs and Monuments of historical interest; + p. 1 (unnumbered): List of Plans and Rubbings to illustrate the List of Tombs and Monuments of historical interest; + pp. 1–333: List of Tombs or Monuments in Bengal possessing historical or archaeological interest; + pp. 1–XXXII: Index of Names of persons whose Tombs are considered as of historical interest.

Follow 6 Appendices

Appendix A.—Monument in Westminster Abbey, London, to the memory of Admiral Watson. 1.

Appendix B.—Burials at Calcutta from 1713 to 1756 (from articles by the Rev. H. B. Hyde in the *Indian Church Quarterly Review*.) 1.

Appendix C.—List of distinguished personages who are known to have died or been buried at Calcutta. 2.

Appendix D.—List of Dutch Directors of Chinsura (from François Valentyn's *Oud en Nieuw Oost Indien*, Amsterdam, 1724, pp. 174–5.) 2.

Appendix E.—The Disused Cemeteries of Calcutta, by E. Walter Madge. 1–3.

Appendix F.—History of the Armenians in India, by Mesrobyb J. Seth. 1–15.

Wenger's *List* contains 1060 entries against the 970 in C. R. Wilson's; yet Wilson's *List* contains only pp. 249 + XII + XVI.

Much space is lost in Wenger's list by the disposition of the materials under 8 columns, thus: 1. Serial Number; 2. Name of cemetery, churchyard or church; 3. Where situated (give exact situation as far as possible); 4. District; 5. Tomb or Monument to the memory of—; 6. Inscription on tomb or monument; 7. Inscriptions on slabs or pillars placed in church or chapel; 8. Remarks. [In this column enter tombs on roadsides or battlefields, and information as in columns 3, 4, 5, and 6.]

Instead of this, C. R. Wilson adopts only 5 Columns, thus: 1. serial number; 2. year of death; 3. Tomb or monument to the memory of—; 4. Inscription; 5. Remarks. Wilson throws the other information into the titles of the different parts and the table of contents. Wilson's 5 columns divide the page breadthwise; Wenger's 8 columns cut the page lengthwise.

"The materials for this, the first collection of obituary and commemorative inscriptions published by the Government of Bengal," wrote C. R. Wilson in his preface, "were originally brought together by the Public Works Department, a special officer* being deputed for the work. The inscriptions thus collected were then given to me to edit. Following suggestions made by Sir Charles Elliott, I have recast the form of the lists and sifted and re-arranged the materials."

There are some features in Wenger's list which I regret not to find in Wilson's, e.g., the translation of *all* inscriptions in languages other than English, i.e., not the Armenian and Greek ones only, but Latin, Portuguese, French, Dutch, and Danish ones.

The *List of Plans and Rubbings* at the beginning roused my hopes, but I was disappointed to find that only Nos. 6, 7, 9, 10, 11 and 20, i.e., rubbings of 6 inscriptions, were bound up with the book. It was something, however, to find that No. 9 was a rubbing of the inscription to the memory of Mrs. Sebastiana Shaw, from the Murghihata Catholic Cathedral. And I had to be particularly grateful to the compiler for having inserted a rubbing of the inscription on Mrs. Reezabeebeh Sokeas' grave in the Armenian Churchyard, Calcutta. In *A Week at the Bandel Convent, Hugli (Bengal, Past & Present, 1915, vol. X, p. 36 n. 2.)* I expressed myself sceptical about the year 15 of the New Era of Julfa (1630 A.D.) As far as I can now judge, there can be no doubt about the 15. Even then, we may adopt C. R. Wilson's argument (*Early Annals of the English, I 137 n. 3*) and say that nothing shows that the stone is *in situ*, as no other tombstone in the cemetery is of the 17th century; hence the existence of an Armenian colony in Calcutta at such an early date as 1630 is not proved. I shall remark that among the published inscriptions from the Armenian graveyard Reezabeebeh's is the only one to a woman. The ending *beebeh* in Reezabeebeh seems to represent the Hindustani *bibi*=lady.

* This special officer was Mr. E. S. Wenger who was Registrar of the Bengal Public Works Department.

We may ask ourselves what has become of all the plans which it was proposed to publish with Mr. Wenger's book. He could not well have published a list of plans and rubbings to be inserted in the book, unless these were ready. Why then were the rubbings alone included? Are not the *plans* now buried in some portfolio of the P. W. D.? In view of the interest which this list of plans and rubbings is bound to have for our Society and its journal, I republish it here.

1. Plan of Calcutta as in 1753	To face page	1
2. Ditto 1784	Ditto	1
3. Plan of Calcutta showing the sites of the churches, cemeteries, &c., from which Inscriptions have been taken	Ditto	1
4. Plan of St. John's Churchyard, Calcutta	Ditto	17
5. Plan of the Charnock Mausoleum, Calcutta	Ditto	17
6. Rubbing of the inscription to the memory of Mr. Job Charnock as in the Charnock Mausoleum, Calcutta	Ditto	17
7. Rubbing of the inscription to the memory of Surgeon William Hamilton as in the Charnock Mausoleum, Calcutta	Ditto	19
8. Plan of the Rohilla Cenotaph in St. John's Churchyard, Calcutta	Ditto	31
9. Rubbing of the inscription to the memory of Mrs. Sebastiana Shaw as in the Roman Catholic Cathedral, Calcutta	Ditto	64
10. Rubbing of the inscription to the memory of Mrs. Reerabeebeh Sookeas as in the Armenian Churchyard, Calcutta	Ditto	94
11. Rubbing of the inscription to the memory of Mr. A. Argeery as in the Greek Churchyard, Calcutta	Ditto	114
12. Plan of the Gwalior Monument, Fort Point, Calcutta	Ditto	118
13. Plan of the late Black Hole Monument, Calcutta	Ditto	125
14. Plan of the South Park Street Cemetery, Calcutta, showing the sites of the tombs, the inscriptions on which are in this list	Ditto	126
15. Plan of the tomb of Sir W. Jones in the South Park Cemetery, Calcutta	Ditto	137
16. Plan of the tomb of the Hon'ble Rose Aylmer in above cemetery	Ditto	141
17. Plan of the North Park Cemetery, Calcutta, showing the sites of the tombs, the inscriptions on which are in this list	Ditto	169
18. Plan of the Mission Cemetery, Calcutta, included with the above		

19. Plan of the Lower Circular Road Cemetery, Calcutta, showing the sites of the tombs, the inscriptions on which are in this list	To face page	185
20. Rubbing of the inscription to the memory of Khojah Johanness Margar as in the Armenian Churchyard, Chinsurah	Ditto	206
21. Plan of the Cenotaph at Barrackpore to the memory of Capt. N. P. Grant	Ditto	259
22. Plan of the Cenotaph at Barrackpore to the memory of the brave	Ditto	260
23. Plan of the Monument at Dum Dum	Ditto	266
24. Plan of the tomb of Colombo Saheb at Dacca	Ditto	284
25. Plan of the Black Hole Monument at Patna	Ditto	296
26. Plan of the Soldiers' Tomb at Arrah	Ditto	309
27. Plan of the tomb of a Dutch Governor at Chapra	Ditto	316

Much as I appreciated C. R. Wilson's compilation, I fear I shall make less of it, now that I have made the acquaintance of E. S. Wenger's. I wish only I had a copy of my own.

I open the book almost at random and find that it has two inscriptions interesting the Church of Baithakhana which are omitted in my *The Registers and Inscriptions of the Church of Our Lady of Dolours, Baithakhana, Calcutta (1810-1914)*, 1915.

I take this opportunity to rectify the omission. The following must be or must have been in the Church compound:—Sacred to the Memory of *Mr. Antoine O'Brian Perie*, Shipwright, who departed this life on the 9th August 1840. Aged 75 years.

Also *Mrs. Catherine Perie*, who departed this life on the 17th December 1853. Aged 104 years.

This stone is placed as a mark of affection by their grand-daughter *Mrs. M. C. Stout*. [Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 89, No. 189.]

The other inscription is on a tablet above the gate of the Portuguese Cemetery of Surah:—

Este Cemeterio pertence a Igreja de Nossa Senhora das Dores de Boytakhanah daqual he Fundadora Padroeira a senhora Gracia Izabel ferro¹ em Junho de 1810.

(Translation): This Cemetery belongs to the Church of Our Lady of Dolours of Boytakhanah of which Senhora Gracia Izabel is the Founder and Patron, opened in June 1810.

¹ I find it so in Wenger's List, p. 132, No. 533.—This inscription in C. R. Wilson's List is shifted under St. John's Roman Catholic Cemetery, together with one from the Cemetery for the R. C. Church of the S. Heart of Jesus, Calcutta. Cf. p. 107.

One Hundred and Forty-Five years at the Old or Mission Church, Calcutta.

CHAPTER I.

FOUNDATION STONES.

KIERNANDER, THE PIONEER MISSIONARY OF BENGAL—AS S.P.C.K.
MISSIONARY AT CUDDALORE—ARRIVAL IN CALCUTTA—HIS
MISSION TO THE PORTUGUESE AND INDIANS—FOUND
THE OLD OR MISSION CHURCH—HIS MINISTRY
THERE—DISPOSES OF THE CHURCH TO MR.
CHARLES GRANT—HIS CLOSING DAYS.

THE Rev. John ZACHARIAS KIERNANDER was the first Protestant Missionary to come to Bengal. He was born in Sweden on December 1st 1710,* and was educated at the University of Halle. He was accepted as a Missionary of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and arrived at Madras in August 1740, and took charge of the Society's Mission at Cuddalore, working there until May 4th 1758, when the town was captured by the French under Count Lally. In the siege the Mission was destroyed, and the surrender of the place to the French crushed the hopes of Kiernander as to further efforts there.

But all unknown to him, the way was already being prepared for his coming to Bengal. In 1756 the English Settlement of Calcutta, which then centred round Tank Square (now called Dalhousie Square), had been completely wrecked by Suraj-ud-dowlah, the Mohamedan Prince of Murahidabad. The majority of the Europeans had fled. Those who remained were

* Three dates are given for Kiernander's birth :

1. Major Moir in *Bengal Past & Present* Vol. VI, p. 4, says that Kiernander was born at Åstad in Sweden on November 21st, 1711.

2. In the Mission cemetery, the slab put up by Kiernander's great grandson records that he died December 29th 1799, aged 88 years 1 month and 18 days. This would give the date of his birth as November 11th 1712.

3. On the other hand we have the inscription on the Nürnberg engraving of his portrait, in which the date is given as December 1st 1710; and this is much the most likely to be true.



PICTURE OF THE REV. J. Z. KIERNANDER.

Reproduction of an engraving made at Nürnberg, 1776, from
a painting by "Baron" Imhoff

captured in the Old Fort, and were shut up one June afternoon in the small room or prison, since known as the Black Hole, close to the present General Post Office. Of 146 persons confined in that room, 123 perished of suffocation during the night under circumstances of unparalleled horror. To avenge this catastrophe, Colonel Robert Clive came up from Madras, and in the same month of June in the following year, 1757, his victory at Plassey established the English power in Bengal. After that, Clive came down to the ruined settlement of Calcutta, and laid the foundation of a newer and stronger Fort William on the maidan. While Clive was busily engaged in this work, news reached him of the disaster at Cuddalore, and he is said to have invited Kiernander to come up north and found a Mission here, evidently regarding a Mission as a sure means of pacification of the country. It is but fair to say, however, that the S.P.C.K. report merely says — "Mr. Kiernander, perceiving no likelihood that Cuddalore would be restored to the English, and the people of Bengal having long been desirous of a Missionary, set sail for that place." By "the people of Bengal," we must probably understand certain people who came under the influence of Schwartz in South India, and who had been transferred to Bengal.

The first English Church in Calcutta, St. Anne's, situated in the Old Fort, had been totally destroyed in the Mohomedan invasion. There was therefore no Protestant Church in Calcutta at this time, and the two Presidency chaplains, the Rev. Henry Butler and the Rev. John Cape, conducted the English services in the Roman Church at Murghibatta, which had not as yet been restored to the Portuguese, some of the Priests being suspected of intriguing with the Mohamedans and the French.

"The state of things which Kiernander found on arrival in this city, was therefore calculated to excite both fear and hope. When he landed, he must have walked amid ruins, which admonished him of the danger in which he and every other European momentarily stood; but he must also have watched the rising walls of new buildings, inspiring hope and enterprise for the future. It was in such circumstances that Kiernander, with no small intrepidity, began his mission in Calcutta" (From a sermon in the Old Church by the Rev. A. Clifford, afterwards Bishop of Lucknow).

He arrived on September 29th 1758, and was received with marked favour by Lord Clive and members of the Bengal Board. A house was assigned to him rent free; and a subscription was raised for his proposed school by the Rev. Henry Butler and Rev. John Cape, who shewed him much sympathy.

In November of the same year, Colonel and Mrs. Clive, and Mr. William Watts, a member of Council, stood as sponsors at the baptism of Kiernander's son, who was named Robert William, after each of his distinguished god-parents.

On December 1st Kiernander opened a school in the Murghihatta quarter, to which both European and Indian boys were allowed to come. Thus early did Kiernander open the door of European education to the youth of India. Within the 1st year his school contained 174 pupils. The work of his mission grew and prospered. Sunday services were held in a room lent by Government, and several converts were made. In the 1st year he had 15 converts, among them a Brahman, the first Brahman convert in Bengal. He preached in German, Portuguese, and English to the Europeans, and to the Natives in the vernacular. His efforts, though confined to Calcutta, were cosmopolitan. He preached to all sorts and conditions of men. "His converts were mainly from the degraded mass of Portuguese Romanism, settled on the outskirts of that growing city. These conversions brought a hornets' nest of papal priests about the Protestant Missionary's head; but undaunted, he retaliated by converting some of the Priests themselves to the religion of the Reformation, and enlisted them as auxiliaries in the work of the Mission." (Hough).

He assisted the Chaplains from time to time in their services for Europeans in Murghihatta. By the end of 1760, he had 231 scholars in his schools, and 61 communicants at his services.

In 1761 a terrible epidemic of cholera broke out, which claimed, amongst other victims, Kiernander's first wife Wendela, and his friends, the two English Chaplains. He himself narrowly escaped death, having no less than six relapses; but he recovered. Thus Kiernander was left alone for a short time to minister to the English community in Calcutta, in addition to his other duties. It has been asserted that Mrs. Wendela Kiernander was buried in the Mission cemetery on the north side of Park Street, and that Kiernander lies in his coffin in the vault between his two wives. But if so, that cemetery must be earlier than the Government cemeteries in the same locality. I can, however, find nothing to show that she was buried there, or that the Mission Cemetery was bought *before* the Mission Church was built in 1769. It is much more probable that she was buried near Charnock's tomb in the Old Cemetery, which existed long before St. John's Church was built there.

On February 10th 1762, Kiernander was married, in the chapel room at the Fort, to his second wife, Mrs. Ann Wolley. She is generally represented as a wealthy widow, to whose soft glances the good *padre* fell a victim, so that he succumbed to "the silken embraces of opulent beauty", (*Asiaticus*). But perhaps this may be as much a libel on her, as it was undoubtedly a libel that credited him with driving about Calcutta in a carriage drawn by four horses. The latter story seems to have emanated from his playfully calling his palanquin and four bearers "my coach and four." Kiernander

was undoubtedly regarded after his marriage with Mrs. Wolley as one of the wealthiest men in Calcutta.

In 1763 an "insurrection" occurred which threatened to sweep away the English power. But still Kiernander held on bravely, and his mission grew and prospered. The Collector's Office was lent to him for School and Church, from 1763 to 1767. He was able to report to the S.P.C.K. that from the commencement of his Mission on Dec. 1st 1758 up to the end of the year 1766, he had made 189 converts, of whom one half were Romanists, one third the children of Romanist parents, and 30 were heathens.

In 1767 Kiernander conceived the idea of building a permanent Church. A site was purchased, and in the month of May he laid the foundation of the Mission Church, which he called "Beth Tephillah" (Hebrew for House of Prayer). It was completed 34 years afterwards, and was dedicated on the 4th Sunday in Advent December 1770,—that is, 17 years before St. John's Church. The building cost 68,000 rupees, the expense being greater than at first estimated, owing to an alteration in the size of the building after it was commenced. Kiernander was personally responsible for nearly the whole of this sum, as the S. P. C. K. were unable to do more than provide Mr. Kiernander's salary, which amounted to the extremely modest sum of £ 50 per annum; and only Rupees 1,818 were given to him by friends for the building of his Church.

"It is no small thing that he, mainly at his own expense, erected a Church where no Church was, and thus restored to the English inhabitants of the chief city of British India the long-forfeited privilege of worshipping God in a public place consecrated to His Service. Calcutta was without a Protestant Church, and without a Protestant Church it would have remained many years longer, if Kiernander had not thought of erecting one for missionary purposes at his own expense. He had calculated that it would cost £2,000, but with the usual uncertainty attending affairs of bricks and mortar, it cost much more. It was three years in course of erection, and it is worthy of mention that Kiernander would never allow the heathen workmen to prosecute their work on the Christian Sabbath,—a refinement little understood in India at that time," or alas, even at the present time. Kiernander says—"I always paid them for seven days, though they worked only six; and I observed they did more in the six days by having the seventh to rest. When their festivals too did not fall on a Sunday, they would not mind the lesser ones at all, but continued their work as usual. From whence," he adds, "I judge it not impracticable to bring the stranger within our gates to a nearer conformity to the commandment."

The architect of the Church, a Dane, Bontout de Melvill by name, died before the work was completed, and this may account for the fact that when

the Church "loomed out in its full proportions, it was at best an unaightly edifice, somewhat uncouth in form and glaring in colour. Its colour was red, for the front was faced with slabs of red cement, pointed with white between the slabs. It was opened for service on December 23, 1770, and thus, after a lapse of 14 years, Calcutta once more beheld an English Church, completed at the expense of a stranger, the former Old Church having been destroyed by the barbarians in 1756."

The original church, as Kiernander built it, appears to have been an oblong building extending from the West door to the beginning of the semi-circular chancel in the East. That chancel was, as we shall see presently, a later addition. "For 17 years Kiernander ministered here with no small success, witnessing for God and the Mission cause, amid a generation of nominal Christians, the worldliness and licentiousness of whose lives must have caused the most serious scandal."

The reason for the long delay of 34 years in building the Church appears to have been that Kiernander had his hands full in another direction. For at this time he lived in his Garden house, which was soon to form the Central Block of the Presidency General Hospital. On April 25th 1768 the Council decided to buy this house (with additions) for a sum of Rs. 98,900 Arcot rupees for the purpose of a hospital, and Kiernander undertook to supervise the building of East and West blocks. Apparently the contractors failed to supply him with *chunam*, and accordingly he had to take material supplied for the Church. The Hospital was completed and inhabited by sick people from April 2nd 1770, after which he was able to push on with the building of the Church.

Here it may not be out of place to add a few words as to the immediate surroundings of the Church when it was built. It was flanked on either side by buildings which do not seem to have undergone very great alteration. The house on the south (now No. 9 Mission Row, and occupied by Messrs. Carritt, Moran & Co.) was the property of Bahoo Ram Soonder Seal. It was rather smaller than it is now, and had a verandah overlooking Mission Row, the arches of which have been filled in, and there was a wooden porch over the door. Next door to that, stood the house which still exists as No. 8 Mission Row, now occupied by Messrs. Thomas' New Mart. The Old Charity School (now the Free School) was domiciled here for a while, after it left its original home in the Council House, on the site of St. Andrew's Kirk. It was in this same house that General Clavering, the Commander-in-Chief lived for a time with his family, and it was here he died. And here Lady Clavering, assisted by her two elegant daughters, "entertained the rank and beauty of the settlement with the decorum and extravagance becoming their rank."

Immediately in front of the Church, where Messrs. Watson & Co's four storied offices now stand, there was an unobstructed view right across Tank Square. A part of this open space was enclosed as the garden of the house where General Monson lived during 1772-5. The house was on the north of the compound and, enlarged, is that now occupied by Messrs. Smith Stanistreet and Co. It may be seen in the picture by W. Baillie given in *Bengal Past and Present* Vol. V. p. 332. A portion of the Church compound, on which the C.M.S. Secretary's house No. 10 Mission Row now stands, was then the property of Mr Charles Weston, the gentleman whose portrait is to be seen, with a voluminous handkerchief on his head, in St. John's Vestry room.

Behind the Church compound, and actually touching the walls of the Parsonage, were single storied godowns, which were burnt down in 1906, and replaced by the great high godowns of Messrs. Ralli Brothers. On the front portion of this, on Lal Bazar, there stood a house, No. 8 Lal Bazar St., which was undoubtedly the old Theatre of those days. When it was being demolished, the stage and side rooms could clearly be distinguished. A picture of this building is in *Bengal Past and Present* Vol. II p. 95. Beyond this again, was the Old Jail and Mint, while on the opposite (north) side of Lal Bazar, on the site now occupied by the Police headquarters, were the famous taverns and fashionable tea gardens of old Calcutta.

It is curious, too, to think that Slavery was at that time quite common amongst Europeans in India. A writer records that Mrs. Kiernander had two slave girls, who were "bound to their mistress by the bonds of affection as well as of service." One of Kiernander's Portuguese Catechists bequeathed to him a slave named Rebekah. It was quite the usual thing in making a will to bequeath slaves to one's friends. St. John's Church burial records shew that Mrs. Kiernander's slave Clarinda was buried on Nov. 30, 1765. It was quite common to have slave boys as torch bearers or table servants. Most, if not all the servants were slaves.

In 1771 Captain John Griffin died, leaving the residue of his estate to the Mission Church, of which the S. P. C. K. and the Director of the Orphan House at Halle were to be joint executors. But there is nothing to show that anything was ever realized!

In June 1773 Kiernander lost his second wife, Mrs. Ann Kiernander. She was buried in the Mission cemetery, and her tomb is the earliest monument in that cemetery. She left her jewels to be sold for the benefit of the Mission; and with the proceeds of their sale, the School room behind the Church was built in 1774. This room is still used as the parish room. The tablet to her memory in the cemetery is as follows:—



In Memory of
 MRS. ANN KIERNANDER
 dearly beloved wife of
 The Reverend
 Mr. JOHN ZACHARIAH KIERNANDER
 first Protestant Missionary to Bengal,
 whom,
 from a life in which she practised every virtue
 that adorns the character of
 a Christian,
 it pleased Almighty God to take unto Himself
 June 9th A.D. 1773 in her age of 43 years & 2 months.
 She departed with an entire though humble confidence
 of a happy futurity
 through the merits of Jesus Christ her Redeemer,
 having for sometime desirously waited for the hour of her
 dissolution
 with that serenity of mind
 which a good conscience alone can inspire.
 Her lamenting husband,
 as a testimony of sincere and affectionate regard
 which she deserved when living
 and which he still retains for her memory,
 caused this tablet to be erected.



Among the adherents whom Kiernander gained to his Mission were no less than five Roman priests, two of whom, Padre Castor Bento de Souza and Padre Marcellino Joseph Ramalhete, assisted him for some years in both Church and School. The former was received into the English Church in 1770 and the latter in 1772.

In 1775 the S.P.C.K. sent out a colleague to Mr. Kiernander in the person of the Rev. John Christman Diemer, who had also been educated at the University of Halle. The assistance of Mr. Diemer was most welcome to Kiernander and serviceable to the cause. Every year saw a considerable increase to the number of converts. The number of scholars in the Mission schools increased. These schools were erected and supported mainly, if not entirely, at Kiernander's own expense.

In 1775 Kiernander built almshouses for old women, but it does not appear where these were situated or what became of them.

In 1776 he built a wall round the Mission cemetery for its protection.

In the spring of 1776 an incident took place which is of some considerable interest in view of the future history of the Mission Church. Charles Grant, then Secretary to the Board of Trade, lost his two eldest children from small-pox, and was deeply impressed by this sad event, which he regarded as a punishment for his own worldly and careless life. He applied to Kiernander for advice upon the all important question "what must I do to be saved?" and Dr. Smith in his *Conversion of India* quotes Grant's quizzical description of the interview. Grant says:—"I found him lying on a couch. My anxious enquiries as to what I should do to be saved, appeared to embarrass and confuse him exceedingly: and when I left him, the perspiration was running down his face, in consequence, as it appeared to me of his mental distress. He could not answer my question, but gave me some good instructive books." Kiernander may not have been able to satisfy Grant's particular state of mind on the spur of the moment; but he seems at least to have taken considerable interest in his case, and very wisely recommended him to Mr. Diemer, with whom Grant spent ten days in retirement, and in being instructed in the Faith. Two friends were also helpful to Grant at this time, John Shore and William Chambers. Grant from this time forward became a sincere and earnest Christian.

In 1777 Warren Hastings married the beautiful Mrs. Imhoff.

In 1781 James Augustus Hicky published in his paper the *Bengal Gazette* a libel against Mr. Kiernander, to the effect that he was trying to sell his church to the Government. A letter from Kiernander to Warren Hastings is given in *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. III, p. 51, which letter drew a reply from the Government absolutely denying the charge.

In 1783 Mr. Diemer left Calcutta, but he must have returned again; for he died in Calcutta in 1792 and lies buried in the South Park Street cemetery, under a huge obelisk, close to the entrance gate, on the right.

In 1784 the following benefactions were given—

Rs. 1,000 from the Rev. J. Z. Kiernander.

Rs. 3,000 from his son Robert.

and Rs. 500 from the Rev. Westrowe Hulac, Chaplain to the Commander-in-Chief. Sir Robert Chambers, the Chief Justice, and Lady Coote, wife of Sir Eyre Coote, Commander-in-Chief, attended services at the Old Church, at least occasionally, if not regularly.

But before the close of Warren Hastings' administration, sorrow fell on Kiernander and the Protestant Mission. For in 1787 an event occurred which nearly put an end to the History of the Mission Church, as a House of Prayer. Kiernander had stood surety for a mortgage deed executed by his son Robert, the godson of Robert Clive; and through the failure of some

building operations in which his son was engaged, the father was called upon to fulfil his suretyship. The creditors became importunate and looked to his property, no matter of what kind, for the discharge of their claims. Kiernander, probably owing to his extreme liberality, had not the ready cash to meet their demands, and the whole of his property was attached. "The seal of the Sheriff of Calcutta was clapped even on the Sanctuary. The Magistrate must obey the Law, of which he is only the servant; doubtless that officer with trembling hand closed the gates of Beth Tephilah. One person immediately came forward and restored the Church to religion. He paid for it the sum it was appraised at, 10,000 Rupees. Yet one person stepped forward and saved the temple, where the hymns of truth had been chanted for 17 years from being profaned for any secular purpose. The property of the Church was transferred on the last day of October 1787 to three Trustees—the Rev. David Brown, Mr. William Chambers, and Mr. Charles Grant." (from *Historical and Ecclesiastical Sketches respecting Bengal*, by a military writer, Calcutta.)

The price, 10,000 Rupees seems moderate enough, as Mr. Kiernander had spent quite 70,000 Rupees upon it.

The S. P. C. K. Reports merely state that the Revd. Mr. Kiernander of the Calcutta Mission had been obliged from age and infirmities to relinquish the service of the Mission, and to transfer the property of the Mission Church, School and Burying Ground to the Revd. Mr. David Brown, Mr. William Chambers and Mr. Charles Grant.

Kiernander's closing days present a pathetic picture. In 1778 he had cataract; and in 1782 both eyes were operated on with some success, as he expressed "his happiness in once more being enabled to see the prosperity of the Mission." But with approaching old age his eyesight failed. When he was declared bankrupt in 1787, he retired to Chinsurah. His riches had taken to themselves wings and fled away. Cut off by physical weakness from continuing in his beloved Mission work, he had now to stand aside and see others carry on the work which he had begun. He lived on several years after this. He was present at the opening of the New Chancel on December 29, 1793 on which occasion he administered the sacrament, and expressed himself happy to see the Church so much improved and increased in attendance. His pathetic figure touched many hearts on that occasion, and Mr. Brown in writing to the S.P.C.K. mentioned his presence at the Church on that day, and added—"I cannot but lament his destitution in the 84th year of his age;"—as a result of which the Society sent £40 to Mr. Kiernander.

At Chinsurah, he acted as Chaplain to the Dutch Settlement there, from 1787 to 1795, when he returned to Calcutta. He died in 1799 at the advanced



CHARLES GRANT.
(Drawing by unknown artist.)

age of 88, and was buried in the Kiernander Vault in the Mission Cemetery, where a tablet, raised many years later by his great grandson, marks his resting place. It bears the following inscription —

Here rest in sure and certain hope
of the resurrection into eternal
life, the mortal remains of
THE REVD. J. Z. KIERNANDER
first missionary of the
Church of England in Bengal,
who died after a residence of
60 years in India, 29th December 1799
aged 88 yrs, 1 mon. & 18 days
ERECTED
by his great grandson
G. H. KIERNANDER.

I have already remarked upon the apparent error here in the date of his birth, and consequently of his age also, although so explicitly given. This tablet was not put up till nearly a century after his death.

In faith and doctrine Kiernander was a strong Lutheran. The Evangelical doctrines of the Reformation were thus from the first earnestly proclaimed from the pulpit of the Old Mission Church.

A portrait of him was painted in 1773 by C. A. C. von Imhoff, who must be the celebrated "Baron" Christof Adam Carl von Imhoff, whose wife afterwards became celebrated as the second wife of Warren Hastings. The original painting was among the family portraits until some 25 years ago, but it was destroyed through the carelessness of his great-grand-children in their play. Had the picture survived, it would have been worthy of a place in the collection for the Victoria Memorial as a relic of old Calcutta. An engraving made at Nürnberg in 1776 from the original painting has been for many years in the Old Church Room, a reproduction of it is given on the frontispiece.

The inscription below the picture is worth careful noting, for it was probably written by Kiernander himself for this very engraving. It may be translated from the German as follows —

Johann Zacharias Kiernander,
born in Sweden on 1st December 1710, Went
in 1739 as English Missionary to Cuddalore, Founded
in 1758 the Mission in Bengal, and built for the same

out of his own money a Church which he called
Beth Tepfillach.

"Not to thy wintry Sweden, No,
Thou must and wilt
To Ganges as God's herald go."

"Painted by C. A. C. von Imhoff, 1773 in Calcutta in the kingdom of
Bengal, engraved by J. S. Walwer 1776 in Nürnberg."



THE REV. HENRY MARTYN.



THE REV. DR. CLAUDIUS BUCHANAN.



THE REV. DAVID BROWN.

CHAPTER II.

A WISE MASTER BUILDER.

THE PATRIARCH DAVID BROWN AND HIS COLLEAGUES.



THE REVD. DAVID BROWN—HIS ARRIVAL AS CHAPLAIN—HIS CONNECTION WITH THE OLD MISSION CHURCH—HIS PLANS FOR A CHURCH MISSION TO BENGAL, GIVE RISE TO THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY—REV. DR. CLAUDIUS BUCHANAN—EVANGELICAL TRUST FORMED—ARRIVAL OF THE REV. HENRY MARTYN AND REV. DANIEL CORRIE—GROWTH OF THE EVANGELICAL FUND—DEATH OF BROWN.

After Kiermader, the Rev. DAVID BROWN was the next "Father" of the Old Mission Church. He was born in Yorkshire, and was admitted as a Scholar at Magdalen College Cambridge in November 1782. When Brown went to Cambridge, a young Evangelical clergyman, the Rev. Charles Simeon, was just commencing his ministry at Holy Trinity Church amid a storm of unreasoning opposition from the parishioners. With him Brown formed a link of friendship, which afterwards drew forth Simeon's active sympathy and life-long interest in the Mission Church at Calcutta. Brown entertained some idea of accepting a curacy under Mr. Simeon; but on taking his degree, he accepted the offer of a chaplaincy in India.

Accordingly he sailed from England with his wife on November 15, 1785; and arrived in Calcutta on June 8th 1786. Within a month of his landing on the shores of India, Brown conceived the idea of a Church Mission for India, and with his usual alacrity he at once set to work to put his plan into action. From Mr. Grant's *Journal* we learn that Brown had a conversation with Grant, Chambers and Oberk upon this topic on the 9th of July. A note in Brown's own diary says—"Began my efforts for a Mission about this time, July 10, 1786." We shall see presently what great fruit sprang from this small beginning.

Soon after his arrival, Mr. Brown was appointed to the charge of the Military Orphan Institution, which was at that time in Howrah, in the very house that now forms the Court house, opposite the Howrah Town Hall.

In September 1787 he bought a piece of ground near by the Orphan House for a native school, which he purposely secured near at hand so that he could personally supervise it. It is not clear what happened to this land afterwards.

We have already seen how on October 31, 1787 the Mission Church of Kiernander had been bought by Grant, and the Old Church Trust formed, of which Brown was a member. In June of this year, St John's Church had been opened, its foundation having been laid with great public ceremony on April 6, 1784 by Warren Hastings. St John's was commonly spoken of as the New Church, in contradistinction to the Mission Church, which from this time began to be called the Old Church. From the time that Brown became a trustee of the Old Church, the conduct of the services fell to him, and for a period extending over 25 years he was mainly responsible for the well-being of the Church. "When the Mission Church devolved to his care as the Beth Tiphia of the aged Zacharias Kiernander, it was in a very different style from that in which the community now view it. It has become one of the ornaments of a "City of Palaces." But in 1787 it was a clumsy unplastered brick edifice, of small dimensions, and choked up with old houses, and, from being of reddish colour, had the appellation given to it by the natives of "the Red Church" (Lal Greja); as which it continued still best known among them, according to their retentive customs, even after its walls were made light stone colour. Within, it was exceedingly uncouth, with a brick pulpit built against a wall, and its aisle rough uncovered tiling. A few rude benches and pews of unpainted plank formed the general seats, with a small number of chairs for the gentry; and it was calculated to accommodate about 200 persons. It was indeed most comfortless, and was pronounced by the then society of Calcutta to be utterly unsuitable for the reception of an European congregation. Yet it was strongly built of good masonry and lofty; and appeared worthy of being made more attractive to a much larger assembly." (From Brown's *Memoirs*).

The outward appearance of the Church at this time may be well seen from the old painting by Daniels in 1787, reproduced here:—

Wednesday Evening services were commenced in 1787; also a *Vettry Library* which was afterwards discontinued.

About this time Brown, Grant and Udny met together to consult more definitely about a Church Mission "for Bengal and Bahar," and Brown drafted a scheme which he sent home "to Revs. N. and S." (evidently meaning John Newton and Charles Simeon), and also to William Wilberforce, and to various dignitaries of the Church at home, including the Archbishops. To Mr. Simeon, Brown wrote,— "From the enclosed papers you will learn the project of a Mission to the East Indies. We understand such matters lie very near to your heart, and that you have a warm zeal to promote their interest. Upon this ground, we take the liberty to invite you to become agent on behalf of the intended Mission at home. We humbly hope you will accept our proposal; and immediately commence a correspondence with us,



THE OLD CHURCH IN 1787 FROM THE PAINTING BY DANIELS.



THE OLD COURT HOUSE & THE OLD CHURCH IN 1805 FROM THE PAINTING BY WARD.

stating from time to time the progress of our application." On the back of this document (which is now at Ridley Hall, Cambridge) Mr. Simeon wrote in 1830:—"It merely shows how early God enabled me to act for India; to provide for which has now for forty two years been a principal and incessant object of my care and labour."

The subject of Missions was thereafter brought before the Eclectic Society, and aroused considerable discussion and interest. This scheme may truly be regarded as the seed from which the Church Missionary Society sprang into existence; though it took a few more years before the germination of the seed became visible, for the meeting at which the C.M.S. was actually inaugurated in London at the Castle and Falcon, was not held until 12th the April 1799.

Simeon's biographer, the Rev. William Carns, writing in 1846, says:—"This project of a Mission to India led to Mr. Simeon's consideration of the subject upon a still more extensive scale: and gave rise to those important discussions on 'the education of Missionaries,' and 'the propriety and mode of attempting a Mission to the heathen from the Established Church,' which issued in the formation of the Church Missionary Society."

This fact is also admitted by the Rev. Henry Venn, the greatest of C.M.S. Secretaries; while Kaye in his *Christianity in India* says:—"Out of this correspondence between the little handful of Christians in Calcutta and their friends in London and Cambridge, ere many years had passed, grew that great fact, the Church Missionary Society."

To this agrees Mr. Henry Morris in his life of Charles Grant, though he makes the mistake of attributing the scheme to Grant, rather than to Brown. Mr. Morris certainly gives ample proof that Grant had the subject of missionary work in India very much in his heart some time *before* Brown arrived in the country, and that he was consulted by Wesley's friend, Dr. Coke as to the formation of the Wesleyan Missionary Society. But Grant's point of view was that a Missionary Society should be undenominational, as it was work in which all Christian bodies should unite; whereas Brown's suggestion was to form a Missionary Society definitely connected with the Established Church; in fact, a Church Missionary Society to Bengal. In the discussions that followed during the next few years in England, Grant himself took no doubt a leading part, as did Dr. Buchanan, who, as we shall see, was also closely associated with the Old Mission Church.

The Old Mission Church, Calcutta, may, therefore, be regarded as the true birthplace of the Church Missionary Society, and the Rev. D. Brown as the true father of it, though when the Society was finally launched, its object was enlarged, and it was sent forth under the name of the Society for Missions to Africa and the East; and 13 years later it changed its name to the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East.

From the time of Brown's first association with the Mission Church he took so keen and deep an interest in it, that some people thought he must be neglecting his proper duties as Chaplain to the Orphan Institution. When he was peremptorily told that he must choose between the two, he preferred to be faithful to the ministration of the Church, and he was accordingly "dispossessed of the Orphan House."

His plan for a Church Mission he laid before the Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis, who, though not caring to give it direct support, promised not to oppose it.

In August 1788 Brown opened a private school for young gentlemen; among his pupils were Mr. Grant's two sons, Charles and Robert, both of whom afterwards became distinguished men. Charles became Lord Glenelg, Robert was knighted and was Governor of Bombay. Robert also was the author of at least two well-known hymns. "O worship the King, all glorious above," and "Saviour, when in dust to Thee."

In September 1788 the S.P.C.K. sent out the Rev. A. T. Clark to the Old Mission Church, but he left abruptly about a year later, having sought and obtained a Chaplaincy. Thereupon Brown again took charge of the Church, thus deserted by its Missionary, and was much helped by the Rev. John Owen, Chaplain of St. John's, or the New Church.

The Old Mission Church continued through God's goodness to prosper, and the congregation so increased that it was thought needful to enlarge it. Brown had been collecting money for this object, and "encouraged by the fine taste and scientific ability of his respected friend, Mr. William Chambers, he determined to improve and enlarge the building." Accordingly the semi-circular chancel was built at the east end, and was opened as already mentioned on December 29, 1793. Probably to this time belong sundry other improvements to the interior, and also the rooms above the old school house were added about this time for the accomodation of the clergy officiating at the Church. Mr. Chambers did not live to see his new chancel opened, for he died in August 1793. Mr. Grant by this time had left India, though he continued to support the work of the Old Church at home for many years.

In 1794 Brown was appointed by Lord Teignmouth to St. John's Church. The following description of church-going in 1796 is interesting: "The courtyard and adjoining streets are now regularly thronged with palanquins and equipages of the congregation, where before scarcely half a dozen had usually appeared." Brown, however, still continued his gratuitous ministrations at the Old Church. His Sunday duties were numerous, for he officiated twice every Sunday at the Old Mission Church, once in the New (St. John's) and once in the garrison in the Fort. The congregation at the Mission Church was an increasing one, both in numbers and respectability of rank. From the first indeed his ministry had been honoured by the attendance of a

few gentlemen of the highest station in the service, among whom were Mr. Charles Grant, then member of the Board of Trade, since the able and respected Chairman of the Court of Directors; his brother-in-law Mr. William Chambers, protonotary and master in Chancery, brother to Sir Robert Chambers, Chief Justice of Bengal; and Mr. Udney who filled the Chair of the Supreme Government."

Grant's friend, John Shore, was appointed Governor-General as Lord Teignmouth; and both Lord and Lady Teignmouth attended the Old Church, together with other members of their family.

In 1797 the S. P. C. K. sent the Rev. Mr. Ringeltaube to the Old Church, but he too left in about a year's time, complaining that the allowance of £50 a year given by the S. P. C. K. was insufficient for a man to live upon. The S. P. C. K. promptly wrote out increasing his allowance, but Mr. Ringeltaube had already left Calcutta before he could possibly have received any reply from England. Mr. Brown again came to the rescue, and took charge of the Church thus deserted for the second time by its Missionary. From 1798 Mr. Brown had the valuable assistance of Dr. Claudius Buchanan, and for several years they shared together the work of the Mission Church.

CLAUDIUS BUCHANAN was born in Scotland on 12 March 1766. As a lad he ran away from home, and with the help of a fiddle he tried to pick up a living till he got employment as a clerk. In London he went to hear Mr. Newton preach at St. Mary's Woolnooth, was there converted, and became an intimate friend of Newton. Newton himself was a remarkable character; he had been a wild sailor, had been a blaspheming slave driver on the African Coast, had been converted in a marvellous way, and became a clergyman and a remarkable preacher and hymn writer. Buchanan, with the help of Mr. Thornton, a banker, went to Queen's College Cambridge, where he distinguished himself: he became a Fellow of his college, and was offered a chaplaincy in India.

He arrived in India on the 10th of March 1797. On his arrival he was hospitably received by Mr. Brown, and resided for a short time in his family. He then took a house in Dhurrumtolla where he continued but two months, being appointed chaplain at Barrackpore, a military station about 16 miles North of Calcutta. Barrackpore, however, possessed no church for public worship, and divine service was never so much as required by the Military Staff to which he was attached! The chaplain could hold no service without an order from the Commanding Officer; and as this order was withheld, Mr. Buchanan could hold no services at all at Barrackpore!

On June 9, 1797 Buchanan wrote to Brown (who had suggested giving up his week-day lectures), "how do you know that your Thursday evening lecture is not the most useful part of all your ministrations?"

At this time there was living in the house adjoining the Church (now No. 11) a remarkable man who is referred to as "The Apostolic Obeck." He was formerly steward in Mr. Grant's family. Buchanan says of him, "the ancient Obeck in Calcutta is like Lot in Sodom. I asked him one day if he could produce ten righteous to save the city. He said he was not sure he could produce ten, but he thought he could find five." He seems to have had a wonderful spiritual influence in the place.

Service in the Hospital is referred to by Mr. Buchannan. Mr. Buchanan was married on April 3rd, 1799 to Miss Mary Whish of Barrackpore; her sister Charlotte was wife to Colonel Sandys. As he could take no services at Barrackpur, Buchanan took every opportunity of assisting Mr. Brown at Calcutta, and was instrumental in creating a better understanding between Mr. Brown and his colleague, the other Presidency chaplain, in whose mind prejudices had existed against Mr. Brown and his ministrations at the Old Church, on account of his evangelical teaching.

Upon the arrival of Lord Wellesley as Governor-General, a great change took place in the religious tone of Calcutta. In 1800 the College of Fort William was founded, and Brown was appointed as first Provost of the College, and William Carey, the Baptist Missionary, was to be one of the Professors.

Speaking of his Sunday services and weekly lecture at the Old Church, Brown says, "I have a full Church, and several of the first rank in the settlement attend. Some of them know the truth as it is in Jesus, and feel the power of His Resurrection in their hearts."

Mr. Buchanan now came to live in Calcutta. He says "both Churches are generally full, particularly in the cold weather." Mr. Brown was at this time in a precarious state of health. After removing to the Presidency, Mr. Buchanan generally preached at one or other of the Churches in Calcutta once, and sometimes twice, on Sundays. He occasionally preached the weekly evening lecture at the Old Church which had been established there by Mr. Brown.

At this time Buchanan wrote: "The chief labour of the Churches is fast devolving on me. The congregations at the New Church are more numerous than those at St. Mary's" (the University Church at Cambridge), "more elegant, equally critical, and perhaps not less intelligent. At the Mission Church the congregations are chiefly composed of those who simply seek Christian instruction and edification."

Mrs. Buchanan went to England with their eldest girl in July 1801. In December, Mr. Buchanan writes, "Mr. Brown and his family have been on the river for their health for 3 or 6 weeks past. Our Churches during the cold season are more crowded than I ever saw them before. Even on Wednesday Evenings there are a great number and good is done. Some of the students attend on that evening. Their presence warms the heart of

old Mr. Obeck. They know and visit him. "How would Mr. Grant rejoice," he sometimes says, "to see these things."

Some structural alterations in the Church are referred to about this time. "The pillars are removed, and a number of additional seats made to accommodate the many who come."

A remarkable spirit of prayer was stirred up in 1802. Several united to keep a prayer-hour early on Sunday mornings, not meeting together for it, but agreeing on the same hour and the same petitions.

In December 1802 Brown issued a circular calling upon friends to subscribe to a fund, to be called the Evangelical Fund, for the support and extension of an Evangelical Ministry in India. "Let us begin ourselves. Let us not despise the day of small things." The circular was as follows:—

"CALCUTTA, FORT WILLIAM, IN BENGAL

December 1802

Whereas several serious Christians have of late been led to consider the state of the Christian Religion in this Country and particularly in this place: and it appearing to them to be a matter of duty both to seek the preservation of the knowledge of Christ where it is, and the diffusion of it where it is not: it has been agreed to raise a fund for the support of an Evangelical Ministry, the outlines of which are *viz* :—

1. That a monthly collection be made among those who love the Gospel, for its permanent support in this place.
2. That the interest only of the sums subscribed be applied to the maintenance of a preacher or preachers of the Gospel.
3. That the management of the Fund thus raised, be committed to three Trustees under certain regulations.
4. That the benefits of the Fund be not confined to any particular denomination of Christian ministers, but extended to all who hold evangelical principles.
5. That the monthly collections or donations be entered in a book (called Receipt book of the Evangelical fund) on the first Monday of each month and signed by the Trustee or Trustees present, which book shall be open for the inspection of those who contribute to the fund.
6. That a record book of Regulations and Proceedings be kept by the Trustees, who shall therein record every transaction respecting disbursements, election of Trustees etc.
7. That a Box to receive the contributions be sent every month to those in this place who desire it by the Trustees.
8. That Mr. Richard Burney, Mr. William Myers, and Mr. John Wood be nominated Trustees."

At a meeting held shortly afterwards it was felt that this was too wide a scope, and accordingly it was resolved to limit the object of the Fund to the support of a ministry, primarily at the Old Church, in connection with the Church of England, and upholding its Protestant Evangelical principles.

Mrs. Buchanan returned from England in August of this year.

In 1803 Brown took possession of his house, Aldeon House, at Serampur. The house is still standing very much as it was in those days, though the river has encroached somewhat, and the "lawn sloping down to the river" has now disappeared into the water.

In the grounds of the house, stood the old Hindu temple known now as "Henry Martyn's Pagoda" regarding which the following note is made in Brown's *Memoirs*:—"It was the Hindu temple of the idol Bullab, which had been evacuated and left by the Brahmans to the ravages of time and the encroaching river. Mr. Brown had it repaired and fitted up. It was appropriated as his family chapel and study, and sometimes to accommodate particular friends, among whom the Rev. Henry Martyn was its inhabitant for about 5 months that he was a guest, on his arrival."

From this house at Serampur, Brown would ride in or take a boat to Calcutta on Saturday afternoon, and conduct his services at St. John's and the Mission Church on Sunday, and return again to Serampur on Monday.

In June 1804 Brown wrote: "the Evangelical Fund is now considerable. It began among the praying few. Who of us imagined that so large a sum could be raised in so short a time?"

In 1804-5 the Church was again enlarged. "The increasing congregation required the space occupied by the pillars. They were first reduced in number" (probably in the alterations of 1803), and then reluctantly removed altogether, and other means of preserving the proportion, as well as enlarging the space, were resorted to by extensive bows thrown out in the centre, and galleries erected at the extremities. The extent of the bows appears from the north bow in which the choir now sit. The south bow was apparently of an equal size.

In January 1805 Mrs. Buchanan, on account of consumptive symptoms sailed for England with her two children, but died off St. Helena; a tablet to her memory is placed in the grave of her sister, Mrs. Charlotte Sandys, in the North Park Street Cemetery, near the East wall of the Mission Cemetery.

During 1805 the Presidency Church of St. John's was closed for repairs, and the Governor-General and suite, with the whole congregation gladly availed themselves of the Old Mission Church. "And there Britain's Wellington has suffered the grateful tear stealing from the heart to adorn his manly cheek, on being reminded from the pulpit that it was God who covered his head in the day of battle. Ps. 140. 7 (on the occasion of

Brown's sermon at the Old Church on the anniversary of the battle of Assaye, preached before the Marquis Wellesley and his exalted brother).

Buchanan says, "we have had service at the Mission Church lately for the settlement. The punkahs make it very pleasant, but it was found too small for the auditory, many families going away every Sunday morning, seats being in general occupied an hour before service." A little later he says:—"On account of the increase of our congregations, we are about to have two morning services on Sundays—the first at 7 o'clock in the Old Church, and the second at the usual hour of 10 at the New. This is very agreeable to a great majority. Only Mr. Brown and myself will officiate at the Old Church. We shall of course (at least I shall) continue to officiate as usual at the New".

On the 31st July the Marquis of Wellesley left, and Sir George Barlow became responsible for the Government. In his absence Mr. George Udney, a regular member and Trustee of the Old Church, officiated as Deputy Governor-General.

Writing in 1805 to the S.P.C.K. Brown says: "on my arrival in Bengal I found the Mission in a low and almost deserted state, and in 1787 the only remaining Missionary (Kiernander) was obliged to leave his station. From that period I began to officiate to the Mission Church congregation, and though I little expected at the time that my services would be needed more than one or two years, yet circumstances have led to their continuance through the whole term of my long residence here. The two Missionaries who were successively appointed by the Society to Calcutta, remained but a short time at their post, and I have been left to carry on the duty with such assistance as I could procure. But I have not been at any period left alone in this work. The chief aid which has been given me, I derived in former years from the Rev. John Owen, and in later years from the Rev. Claudius Buchanan, who since his settlement in Calcutta has regularly shared with me all the duties of the Mission congregation.

"It will be satisfactory to the Society to be informed that our mutual efforts have not been without success. We have seen the congregation continually increasing in numbers, respectability and seriousness. Through the pains, zeal and liberality of individuals, the Church has been now again considerably enlarged, entirely new furnished, and the premises extended at a cost of about £4000; and the public utility of the Church has obtained for it the favourable notice of Government, which has now extended to it the same protection and aid it affords to the Settlement Church, and has granted an annual amount to defray the current expenses of organist, servants, lights etc. besides the sum of rather more than £1800 to pay off all arrears incurred by needful repairs etc."

This grant has long since been withdrawn, though the Church still continues to draw Rs. 1,000 a year for current repairs.

In the same letter he refers to the formation of the *Evangelical Fund Trust*: "The zeal of the Mission congregation has been further manifested in raising a fund for the maintenance of a Minister, whenever he shall arrive; the fund goes on increasing by monthly contributions and affords a reasonable prospect of support and comfort to future Missionaries, a circumstance which cannot fail to engage the Society to renew their efforts on behalf of their Calcutta Mission."

In May 1806 Buchanan went on a tour in South India among the Syrian Churches. As he sailed out from the Sandheads he passed within sight of the vessel which brought Henry Martyn to India.

The Rev. HENRY MARTYN, senior wrangler and fellow of St. John's College Cambridge, arrived off Saugor Island on May 11th 1806. The vessel he was in, struck on the James and Mary sandbank, and one trembles to think of the loss to the Church and to the world that might have taken place had the vessel with all hands been lost like many another gallant ship upon that fateful shoal. On the morning of the 16th, Martyn arrived at daylight in Calcutta, and with some difficulty found Mr. Carey, Messrs. Brown and Buchanan being both absent from Calcutta.

The following are extracts from his diary:—

"With Carey I breakfasted, and joined him in worship which was in Bengalee for the advantage of a few servants, who sat however perfectly unmoved. I had engaged a boat for Serampur, when a letter from Mr. Brown found me out, and directed me to his house in the town, where I spent the rest of the day in solitude, and more comfortably and profitably than any time past. I enjoyed several solemn seasons in prayer and more lively impressions from God's word. Employed at times in writing to Mr. Simeon. Mr. Brown's *munshee*, a Brahmin of the name of B. Roy, came in and disputed with me two hours about the Gospel.

"May 17th. What I hear about my future destination has proved a trial to me today. Brown and Buchanan wish to keep me here as Chaplain at the Old Church. I have a great many reasons for not liking this: I almost think that to be prevented going among the heathen as a Missionary would break my heart. I have hitherto lived to little purpose, like a clod upon the earth. *Now let me burn out for God!*

"May 18th. So unwell with a cold and sore throat, that Mr. B. did not think it right for me to preach. Went with him at 10 in the morning to the New Church. Mr. Jeffries read one part, Mr. Limerick another of the service; Mr. Brown preached. At 8 in the evening went to the Old or Missionary Church where I ventured to read the service. Mr. Brown preached on

"Behold the Lamb of God." I was very agreeably surprized at the number, attention and apparent liveliness of the audience; and I may safely say that most of the young ministers that I know, would rejoice to come from England, if they knew how attractive every circumstance is respecting the Church. Stayed in the vestry some time conversing with Mr. Burney.

May 19th. We got a boat, and the stream in an hour and a half helped us up to Serampur, to Mr. Brown's house. In the cool of the evening we walked to the Mission house, a few hundred yards off, and I at last saw the place about which I have so long read with pleasure. I was introduced to all the Missionaries. We sat down 150 to tea at several long tables in an immense room. After this, there was evening service in another room adjoining, by Mr. Ward. Mr. Marshman then delivered his lecture on Grammar. My habitation assigned to me by Mr. B. is a Pagoda in his grounds on the edge of the river. Thither I retired at night, and really felt something like supernatural dread at being in a place once inhabited as it were by devils, but yet felt to be triumphantly joyful that the temple, where they were worshipped, was become Christ's Oratory. I prayed out aloud to my God, and the echoes returned from the vaulted roof."

Henry Martyn preached at the old Church on several occasions during his stay of 3 months in Lower Bengal. The following is a list of the texts from which he preached:—

- May 21, Thursday, 1 Cor. 1. 1. 3 "to a moderately large congregation."
 " 24, Sunday, on 1 Tim. 1. 15.
 June 1, " on the last 3 verses of St. Matthew.
 " 4, Wednesday, "grieved that I could not speak with plainness and affection to the people." (Text not recorded).
 " 8, preached in the morning at the New Church for the first time on 1 Cor. 1. 23, 24. The sermon excited no small ferment. (So much so, that the chaplains took to opposing the doctrines preached by Martyn, even from the pulpit).
 " Preached at night at the Old Mission Church on 2 Cor. 5. 9.
 " 29, at the Old Mission Church on Dan. 5. 23, 24.
 July 6, on Jn. 4. 10.
 " 13, Eph. 2. 1. 3.
 " 16, Is. 63. 1.
 " 27, Eph. 3. 4—7.
 August 3, Jn. 1. 14.
 " 6, "There were few people at Church and those not very attentive."
 " 10, Jn. 1. 29 under some difficulty as a heavy squall came on.
 " 13, Matt. 3. 21. 23.
 " 21, Is. 4. 3.

- September 7. On Mark 8. 34, 35.
 " 14. 2, Cor. 4. 17, 18.
 " 21. Acts 12. The jailer's question.
 " At 3 o'clock he preached at the New Church from Rom. 3. 21-23, as Corrie said, "the most impressive and best composition I have ever heard."
 October 1. On Eph. 2. 4-
 " 8. Is. 53. 7.
 " 12. "I took my leave of the saints in Calcutta in a Sermon on Acts 20. 32."

Henry Martyn went as Chaplain, first to Dinapore, and later to Cawnpore, and did not return to Calcutta until November 1810.

But before Martyn left, there arrived from England the Rev. DANIEL CORRIE, of Clare Hall Cambridge, another of Simeon's men. Corrie went to Cambridge in 1799. He was at first "disgusted" with what he heard of Simeon's preaching; but a change coming over his life, he began to be drawn to it. He was ordained to the curacy of Buckminster, and on September 26, 1806 he arrived in Calcutta as a chaplain.

He says in his diary:—"The sight of Calcutta afforded me great satisfaction. The approach to it was tedious, and I felt some impatience at the perversity of the boatmen. I walked up to the Church (St. John's), and enquired in vain for Martyn; went to Doughty's hotel. I took some refreshment, and was about to go forth in quest of Martyn, when a note arrived from him desiring me to go to the College (in the Fort). I set off immediately, and was received by him with the most lively demonstrations of joy. Here I was desirous to take up my abode, and Mr. Brown, to whom I am indebted for my present entertainment, appears a sensible, determined, pious man."

Both Corrie, and Parson, another new Chaplain, took up their abode with Mr. Brown at Aldeen, and Martyn was their fellow-guest for a short time.

Corrie preached his first sermon in India at the Old Church on Sunday September 28 in the evening, from 2 Thess. 1-7-10, by which a young man was led to give up his sins.

On October 10th there was a meeting at the Pagoda to commend Martyn to the favour & protection of God, and on October 18th Martyn left for Dinapore.

On November 3 Corrie wrote:—"I have preached several times at the Old Church and once in the New. On December 8 he too left Calcutta for his Chaplaincy at Chunar.

Buchanan returned from his tour in South India in March 1807. About this time he wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury on "Our hope of evangelising Asia," and mentioned the fact that Brown had lately witnessed the burning by Sutties of 8 women on one pyre on his way to church from his country house at Serampur.

In 1807 Buchanan's help is specially mentioned. Besides the Sunday services, mention is made of the Wednesday evening lecture, and also of *Cottage meetings* which are still maintained in the Parish to the present day.

Buchanan preached his last sermon at the Old Church in November 1807 on Phil. i. 27. He went home and settled in Yorkshire. Writing shortly afterwards from England, he says, "the organ for the Mission Church has been shipped; it is a noble one." This instrument lasted until 1880.

To Buchanan belongs the honour of suggesting the Ecclesiastical Establishment in India, and he narrowly escaped the distinction of being appointed as the first Bishop of Calcutta. Moreover his journal, his sermons and his writings did much in stirring up interest in the Missionary cause in England. He died on Feb. 9th 1815.

By this time the Old Church had become outwardly more attractive, for Mr. Brown took much interest in improving the appearance of the Church. "It was gradually fitted up in a manner suitable to the climate, abundantly lighted; supplied with an excellent organ, and with a handsome pulpit and desks, to correspond with the general elegant neatness of the whole effect. At length it formed altogether a most pleasing *coup d'oeil*, surprisingly contrasted with its somewhat revolting appearance before Mr. Brown compassed the improvements. By the time a stated chaplain (Mr. Thomason) was appointed to it, the congregation had increased to more than fourfold the number it could originally hold."

Another mention of the Evangelical Fund occurs also at this time — "Another favourite pursuit which Mr. Brown had the happiness to see brought to bear fruit by his exertions and become eminently useful, was a Fund in aid of pious, serious ministers, to preach the gospel to the congregation of the Mission Church, since the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge desisted from supplying it. This fund for Mission ministers was instituted by Mr. Brown and was supported by him to a considerable annual amount; for although the plan of the contributions concealed the individual subscriptions, yet circumstances allowed it to be gathered that he gave to this object with his accustomed liberality, and with that alacrity and delight which always silenced mere personal considerations, whenever he discovered opportunities of lending to the Lord. The fees he accepted were appropriated to such objects; or he not unfrequently requested that such acknowledgements as were assigned to him, might be devoted instead to one or other of the above purposes." (The other favoured object being the

Charitable Fund). "When this fund for ministers was established, it was not known that Government would adopt the Mission Church by paying its stated expenses, and that a chaplain would be appointed to it on the footing and salary of the other chaplain of the Company's service. This having taken place, the fund raised has therefore not been required for its direct original purpose. It has nevertheless been made very useful to more than one clergyman whose assistance has been acceptable to the congregation; and it has supplied a commodious parsonage, and smaller residence for the chaplain now attached to it: the former of these was built on ground given for the purpose by Mr. Brown, and in which Mr. Buchanan first, and since the other ministers officiating at the Church have successively resided rent free; and it has been furnished and repeatedly enlarged at the expense of the Fund."

In 1807 Brown writes, "an old lady lately afflicted with sickness and yet very ill has by deed of gift made over to the Evangelical Fund in Company's paper Rs. 16,000. Is not that an event?" The fund is now worth 43,000 Rupees in cash, and an house etc. is valued at upwards of half a lac of Rupees. Thus has God prospered an undertaking which began in December 1802 as a grain of mustard seed."

On Christmas day 1807 the collection amounted to Rs. 7,325 for the Charitable Fund. (This was the inauguration of the Public fund now known as the District Charitable Society).

In September 1808 Corrie came down to Calcutta to meet his sister, after spending some weeks with Martyn at Dinapore, on account of the latter's weak state of health—During his stay in Calcutta, Corrie was the guest of Mr. Brown, and doubtless assisted again in preaching at the Mission Church. He returned to Chunar, spending Christmas with Martyn en route. In one of his letters he refers to Mr. Brown as follows:—

"I cannot tell you how much we are indebted to this man of God. He has been, and is, to us younger chaplains, a Father in Israel. His affection for us exceeds the affection of most fathers for their children. His letters convey the instruction of a Bishop with the tenderness of a brother. I trust we feel his worth, and value it aright."

In November 1808 the Rev. T. T. THOMASON arrived as the first chaplain appointed by the East India Company to the Old Church. Thereafter Brown ministered only occasionally at the Church. On Thomason's illness, Brown re-opened the Thursday evening lectures, about 1812.

Brown, as the first Secretary to the C. M. S. Corresponding Committee, had to deal with the first C. M. S. grants of £500, and later in 1811 an annual grant of £250 made to Bengal for translational work. The former was devoted to the Arabic Scriptures, and the latter for Translation into Indian vernaculars, and for Readers to read aloud the scriptures after the manner of the Hindoos, for all passers-by to stop and listen.



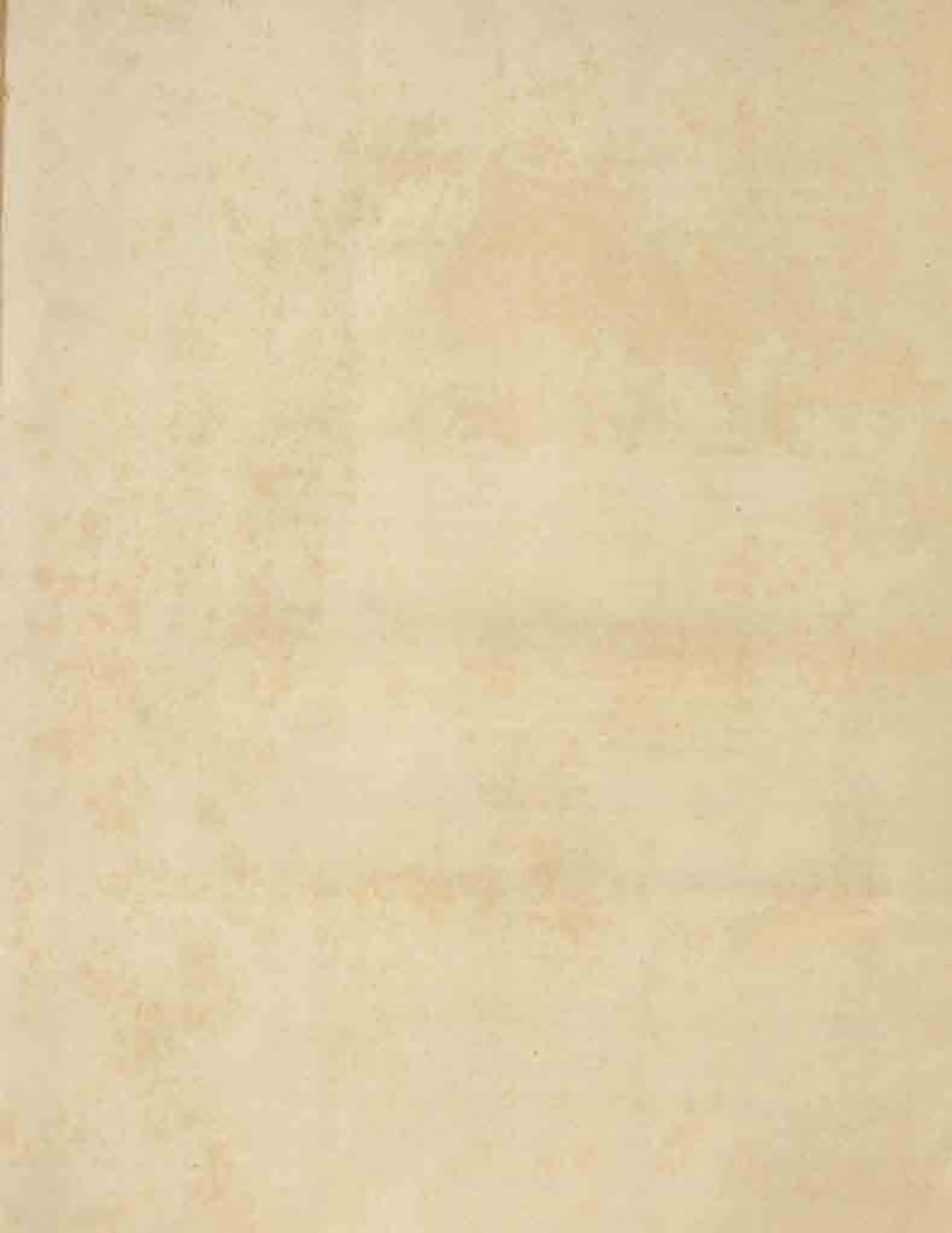
THE REV. T. T. THOMASON.



BISHOP DANIEL CORRIE.



1887. THE OLD CHANCEL OF 1805.



The Serampur fire in March 1812 destroyed Brown's report for the Bible Society, and other papers; but his now increasing sickness prevented him from further work.

On April 24 Corrie came down to Calcutta and stayed with Thomason at 10 Mission Row. Brown started on a sea voyage to Madras, on May 14, with Corrie; but returned from Saugor Island, as the ship ran aground at Saugor. The exposure thus entailed was too much for Brown, who grew worse and died on 14 June 1812 at the house of Mr. J. H. Harington in Chowringhee. He was buried in South Park Street cemetery, where his tomb may be seen near the entrance, on the right as one enters.

Mr. Brown was twice married, and left 9 children surviving him. His son Charles Philip born in 1798 was in the Madras Civil Service, and was a good Telugu scholar. One daughter married Mr. Wilberforce Bird, a member of the Supreme Council, who lived where the Bishop's Palace now stands; she is mentioned in Corrie's life. Another daughter Jane, married Robert Merttins Bird; she died young, and was buried in the cemetery at Goruckpore. A miniature of Mr. Brown in the possession of his grandson, Canon Cowley Brown of Edinburgh, has at last supplied us with a portrait of him, and an enlargement of this now hangs on the wall of the Old Church Room.

It would indeed be difficult to over-estimate the splendid work done by "The Patriarch", (as Martyn and Corrie styled him), not only at the Old Church, but in the cause of Missions generally. The Old Church owes as much to him for maintaining its existence through a long critical period, as it does to Kiernander for founding it. For had Brown not held the congregation together by his gratuitous labours extending over 25 years, the history of the Old Church could never have been written.

The tablet to his memory in the Church is one of great simplicity:—

<p>To the poor the Gospel was preached in this Church by The Rev. DAVID BROWN Twenty five years. Obt. ap. Calcutta 14 June 1812. Act. 49.</p>

But a greater and yet more glorious fruit of his prayers was the Church Missionary Society with its world-wide Missions, which as we have seen owed its origin in the first instance to his suggestion and effort.

E. T. SANDYS.

[To be continued].

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